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John Carter Brown.

Herberts Typ: p: 1202. v: 2.

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/c. & p./

This translation from the Spanish of Las Casas is the earliest which appeared in our language, & of extreme rarity: & not to be found in the catalogues of the ~~collections~~ libraries of Mr Crofts, Beauclerk, or Steevens, tho' evidently coinciding with the plan of their collections.

It was undertaken no doubt from political motives, as was a subsequent version by Phillips during the protectorate of Oliver to exasperate the nation agt the tyranny & cruelties of Spain.

Herberts Ty

Church #130

Ther Robert Boys

THE Spaniſh Colonie,

OR

Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and *geſtes of the Spaniardes in the Weſt In-*dies, called the newe World, for the ſpace of xl. yeeres: witten in the Caſtilian tongue by the reuerend Biſhop Bartholomew de las Caſas *or* Caſaus, *a Friar of the or-der of* S. Dominicke.

And nowe firſt tranſlated into engliſh, by M. M. S.

¶ Imprinted at London for *William Brome.*
1583.

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D

JOHN CARTER BROWN

To the Reader.

Spaniſh cruelties and tyrannies, perpe-
trated in the West Indies, commonly termed
The newe found worlde.

Briefly deſcribed in the Caſtilian language, by the Biſhop *Tryer Bartholomew de las Caſas* or *Caſaus*, a Spaniarde of the order of Saint Dominick, faithfully tranſlated by *Iames Aliggrodo*, to ſerue as a Preſident and warning, to the xij. Prouinces of the lowe Countries.

Happie is hee whome other mens harmes doe make to beware.

GOds iudgementes are ſo profound as mans wiſdome, no not the power of Angels is able to enter into their depth. Thou ſhalt (frendly Reader) in this diſcourſe beholde ſo many millions of mẽ put to death, as hardly there haue been ſo many ſpaniardes procreated into this worlde ſince their firſte fathers the Gothes inhabited their Countries, either ſince their ſecond progenitors the *Sarazens* expelled and murdered the moſt part of the Gothes, as it ſeemeth that the Spaniardes haue murdered and put to death in the Weſterne Indies by all ſuch meanes as barbarouſneſſe it ſelfe coulde imagine or forge vpon the anueld of crueltie. They haue deſtroyed thriſe ſo much lande as chriſtendome

ſtendome doth comprehende: ſuch torments haue they inuented, yea ſo great and exceſſiue haue their trecherie been, that the poſteritie ſhall hardly thinke that euer ſo barbarous or cruell a nation haue bin in the worlde, if as you woulde ſay we had not with our eyes ſeene it, and with our hands felt it. I confeſſe that I neuer loued that nation generally, by reaſon of their intollerable pride, notwithſtanding I can not but cõmend & loue fundry excellent perſons that are among thẽ. Howbeit, God is my witnes, hatred procureth me not to write thoſe things, as alſo the authour of the booke is by nation a Spaniard, and beſides writeth farre more bitterly then my ſelfe.

But two reaſons haue moued me to publiſhe this preface, which I do dedicate to all the prouinces of the Lowe countreys: The one, to the end, awaking thẽſelus out of their ſleep, may begin to thinke vpon Gods iudgements: and refraine from their wickednes and vice. The other, that they may alſo conſider with what enemie they are to deale, and ſo to beholde as it were in a picture or table, what ſtay they are like to bee at, when through their rechleſneſſe, quarrels, controuerſies, and partialities themſelues haue opened the way to ſuch an enemie: and what they may looke for. Moſt mẽ do ground their opinion vpon the goodneſſe of their cauſe, concluding, that in as much as God is iuſt, he will graunt victorie to the right, and will ouerthrowe the wicked. This was Iobes friendes diſputation, where they concluded that for that Iob was afflicted, vndoubtedly he was wicked: Which reaſon is drawen out of a certaine rule, which it ſeemeth that nature hath printed in our hartes, that is, that God puniſheth the euill, and in mercie rewardeth the good deedes. Therevpon did the inhabitants of Malta report that Gods vengeance would not permit S. Paul to liue, when after he had eſcaped ſo dangerous ſhipwracke, the Viper leaped vpon his hande. Howebeit notwithſtanding this rule be certaine and true, yet do manie therein diuerſely deceiue them ſelues, concluding thereby that GOD ſendeth no affliction but to the wicked, as if hee laide not his croſſe alſo vpon the good: As Iob, the Prophetes, and Martyres: yea, his owne ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, and that for the mortifiyng of the fleſhe, and more and more to quicken man in good liuing: and for his ſonne, to the ende in him to puniſh our ſinne which hee tooke vpon him. Others do

beleeue that God wil neuer ſuffer ſinne to bee long vnpuniſhed, notwithſtãding ỹ hauing long waited patiẽtly for our repentãce, his clemencie is at length conuerted into iuſtice. Some againe, that it is vnpoſſible for the wicked to gette the vpper hande in an euill cauſe, notwithſtanding wee dayly ſee it fall out contrary: vndoubtedly the Turkes victories & conqueſtes in Chriſtendome haue no foundation, but conſiſt vpon meere tyrannie and vſurpation. For although Chriſtians ſinnes, eſpecially the great abuſe in Gods ſeruice, haue bin the cauſes of our puniſhment, yet muſt we confeſſe that the chriſtians, what errors ſoeuer ſome of them do in their doctrine maintain, are not neuertheles ſo farre deuoid of the truth, as are the Turkes, and yet do we ſee howe mightily in few yeres they haue cõquered & encroched vpõ chriſtendom. Alſo before the comming of the Turkes, namely ſoone after the time of *Mahamet*, there came ſuch a flock of Sarazins, that they deuoured firſt *Egypt*, then all *Affrick*, & rooting out Chriſtianitie out of the ſaid countries ſeazed vpon al Spaine: yea proceeding forward, they camped in *Aquitain* vpon the riuer of *Toyre*: inſomuch that it was to be doubted ỹ they might ſoone haue caught hold vpon France, & ſo vpon the reſt of chriſtẽdom, had not God raiſed vp that mightie Duke of *Brabant*, *Charles Martel*, who defeating them, driue them beyond the Pirenean mountaines. But if we liſt to conſider the examples contained in the holy Bible, whoſe reaſons are more exactly expounded by the prophets, we do find that in the time of K. *Hezechias*, although the head citie, namely Hieruſalem, was not forced, yet the leſſer townes being taken by the enemie, the flatte countrey ſpoyled, the K. and the princes of *Iuda* had no more left them but the bare walles of Hieruſalem. Alſo, albeit God did marueilouſly ſtrike the armie of *Senacherib*, and that his own children ſlew him in his gods temples: yet were not gods people free from ſuffering much, and from ſeeing the enemie enioy the moſt part of their law: their cõmons did beare that which nowe we know, & more then we would, that is what an enemy entring by force of armes into a land is able to do. But Nabuchadnezers victories were far others, whẽ he tooke, burned, & ſacked euẽ the head citie, together with ỹ very temple of Hieruſalẽ, & took their K. P. & hie P. priſoners, & ſlu, pulled out ỹ eies, & fettered ſome of thẽ forcing the cõmons during the ſiege to eate their own dong &

Who is hee therefore that dare accuſe God of wrong, ſith ſuch tyrants be called the Axe in the Lordes hands, as the executioners of his iuſtice? Further wee ſee, that thoſe that haue the moſt right are by the wicked robbed, ſlaine, & murdered, which is neuertheleſſe Gods doing. For it is ſaid: Curſed be he that doth the Lordes worke negligently, in which place the holy ſcriptures do ſpeake of ſuch miniſters and inſtruments of God. In this diſcourſe of *Don Bartholomew de las Caſas*, wee do finde a manifeſt example. For I pray you what right had the Spaniards ouer the Indians: ſauing that the Pope had giuen them the ſaid land, and I leaue to your iudgemente what right hee had therein: for it is doubtfull whether his power doe ſtretch to the diſtributing of worldly kingdomes. But admit hee had that authority, was there therefore any reaſon that hee ſhould for crying in the night, *There is a God, a Pope, & a King of Caſtile who is Lord of theſe Countries*, murder 12. 15. or 20. millions of poore reaſonable creatures, created (as our ſelues) after the image of the liuing God? Heere doe I, as in the beginning I ſaid, ſee a bottomleſſe depth of Gods iudgements. For it is a ſmall matter to ſay that the wicked doe moleſt better men then themſelues, for the cauſes aforeſaide: but to ſee a whole nation, yea, infinite nations periſh ſo miſerablie, and as it ſemeth, without any cauſe, is it that maketh moſt men to wander, yea euen aſtoniſheth ſuch as do examine theſe effects by the rule of their owne reaſons. Howebeit we haue two examples in the Bible, though not altogether like, yet very neere. It is ſaide in the ouerthrowe of Sehon: *In thoſe dayes wee tooke all his townes, and deſtroyed men women and childen in the ſame, neither left we any thing remaining*. The like ſentence is there alſo of *Og* king of *Baſan*, yea, Moſes ſone after alloweth all that was done, commaundeth *Ioſua* to doe as much to all the other kinges in his iourney as was done to thoſe two. If wee ſeeke the cauſe of ſuch executions, man will bee as it were at his wits ende and ſtande mute. Againe, if men ſhould conſider the example of king Saule whom God reiected, becauſe he did not wholy diſcomfit *Amelec*, but ſaued their king, and reſerued the fatteſt of their cattell for the ſacrifices, their vnderſtanding woulde giue ſentence cleane

contrary

contrarie to gods. What will they say, was it not a comendable, yea, a noble minde, for a king to spare his brother, either for an Israelite to spare the cattell to the ende to sacrifice them to the God of Israel: yet was Gods sentence pronounced by *Samuel* cleane repugnant thereto, God *loueth obedience better then sacrifice*. And not long before God had commaunded both, namely, that the Cananites and Amalekites shoulde bee rooted out: and therefore hee was to bee obeyed, and for their disobedience the Cananites remained thornes in the eyes of Israel, and the king of *Amalec* whome *Samuel* neuertheleſſe hewed in peeces, was the subuersion of Saule and his royall familie. But here may expresse reasons be alleadged for such iudgements of God, which seeming seuere to man are neuertheleſſe, in that they proceeded from God, meere iustice. Moses saith, when the Lord thy God hath reiected them before thy face, think not in thine hearte, saying: The Lorde for my righteousneſſe hath caused mee to enter possession of this lande, seeing hee hath for their wickedneſſe rooted out theſe nations before thy face. For thou art not through thy righteousnes and vprightneſſe of heart come to inherite their land, but it is for the abhominatiõs of theſe people, whom the Lord thy god hath expelled before thy face.

True it is, that as in a cleeare sunnie light we may more easily discerne all that is obiect to our sight, euen so of things conteined in the holy Scriptures commonly the causes are to bee founde: but for other matters, as the destruction of diuers nations among the Heathen: and finally for this so cruell and horrible example, conteined in this booke, there can bee alleadged no particuler reason, other then that gods iudgemẽts are bottõleſſe pits: also that sith he hath done it, it is iustly done. And yet are not the Spaniardes beeing the executors of this vengeance, more excusable then *Pilate* for condẽning our sauiour, or *Annas* or *Caiphas* for procuring his death notwithstanding gods counsaile and hand wrought thoſe things. For behold gods sentence pronounced against the wicked, whom he vseth in chaſtening the good, whom by thoſe meanes he doth trie, and punisheth the wicked according to their desarts:

Oh Asshur, the rod of my wrath: and the staffe in their hands is my indignation. I will sende him to a dissembling nation, & I wil giue him a charge against the people of my wrath, to take the spoyle, and to take the pray, & to treade them vnder foote like the mire in the streete. But he thinketh not so, neither doth his heart esteeme it so, but he imagineth to destroy and to cut off not a few nations. For he saith, Are not my princes altogether kings? Is not Calno as Charchemish? Is not Hamath like Arpad? Is not Samaria as Damascus? Like as my hande hath found the kingdomes of Idols, seeing their idols were aboue Ierusalem & aboue Samaria: Shall not I, as I haue done to Samaria and to the Idols thereof, so do to Hierusalẽ & to the idols thereof? But when the Lord hath accõplished al his worke vpõ mount Siõ & Ierusalẽ, I wil visit the frute of the proude hart of the K. of Asshur, & his glorious & proud lookes, because he said, by the power of my own hand haue I done it, & by my wisdom, because I am wise. Therfore I haue remoued the borders of the people, & haue spoiled their treasures, and haue pulled downe the inhabitants like a valiant man. And my hand hath found as a nest, &c. So that although the wicked for a time doe triumph, yet doth not God leaue their abhominable cruelties vnpunished. But Gods iudgements being in the meane time such, that by the wicked he punisheth those that be wicked: notwithstanding their wickednes be somewhat lesse, as also the good bee chastised by the cruell and bloodthirstie: it is certaine that wee are not thereby to iudge that our selues shall haue the victorie ouer our enemies, because our cause is the better, for we are replenished with vice enough, whereby to leaue vnto god sufficient matter to punishe vs: And therefore as I saide two thinges mee thought, and yet mee seemeth in these Countries worthie admiration: One is, that wee trusting that the defence of our libertie is vnto vs a iuste occasion doe not in the meane time consider that wee commit no lesse faults, then those which Ezech, cast in the Sodomites teeth, Beholde the iniquitie of thy sister Sodom was pride, fulnesse of bread, and the ease of Idlenes: these were in her & in her daugh-

ters: and ſhe relieued not the afflicted and the poore, and as if we had made attonement with death, we feare not gods iudgemẽts. If we looke vpon the firſt table moſt of vs may ſee a great abuſe in gods ſeruice: but ſo far are we from indeuoring to correct it, that contrariwiſe ſome would that the remembrance of God, at the leaſt for this time, might be buried in obliuion: therein reſembling the ſicke perſon that would neuer heare of the Phiſition, or the children which would that during their infancie there might grow no twigges in the woods: Others terme thẽſelues reformed, being neuertheleſſe reformed but in mouth only. For the wine and the harpe as the prophet ſaith, are as common in their bankets as afore time, neither are they ſory for the contrition of Ioſeph. The other is, that in maner euery man generally hath an eye to his owne priuat affaires, no mã medleth with the common, vnleſſe it bee to reprooue, but not to help: hatred poſſeſſeth many of their heartes, and which is more ſtrange, although there bee many in theſe Countries that haue heretofore felt the manifeſt iniuries of the ſpaniards: yet as if their memory wholy failed them, they be redy to compound with thẽ as they ſuppoſe, to the deſtruction of their confederates, but in truth to the generall ſubuerſion of the whole countrie. To the end therfore they may at the leaſt as in a table behold the nature of their enimie, his purpoſe & intent: here enſueth a true hiſtory written by one of their owne nation, wherein they may learne not that which is yet fully executed in theſe low countries, but which (had not god ſtopped their courſe) they had long ſince put in execution; and hereby I hope al good men wil learne to be reſolute, and amending their liues will ioyne couragiouſly, not in wordes only, but in deedes alſo, to repell ſo arrogant and intollerable an enemie. But there needeth no other admonitiõ then the ſame which the authour hath ſet down, and therefore I pray you reade him as diligently as he deſerueth, beeing an authour both graue and worthy immortal commendation, in that he durſt oppoſe himſelfe to his owne ſo cruell and barbarous nation: and let vs render thanks to god for ſending vs ſo good maiſters to inſtructe vs in our dueties in this ſo miſerable and wretched time, in hope that we not quailing in our office, he will alſo finally graunt vs happie deliuerance.

The Argument of this preſent Summarie.

THe ſtate of thinges happened in the Indies, euen from the time they were moſt wonderfully diſcouered: alſo ſince the Spaniards for a while began to enhabite thoſe places, and afterward ſucceſſiuely vnto theſe daies, haue in all degrees bin ſo maruailous & incredible vnto ſuch as haue not ſeen thē, that they may ſeeme ſufficient to darken and burie in obliuion and ſilence whatſoeuer els haue paſſed in all former ages throughout the world, howe great ſo euer it hath been, amongſt which the ſlaughters and murders of theſe innocent people, together with the ſpoiles of townes, prouinces, & kingdomes, which in thoſe parts haue bin perpetrated, as alſo diuers others no leſſe terrible matters are not the leaſt. Theſe things whē *dō Bartlemew de las Caſaus*, being made of a monke a biſhop at his comming to the court, there to enforme our L. & M. the Emperor, as hauing bin an eie witnes of the ſame, had rehearſed to ſundry perſons, who as yet were ignorant thereof, & thereby hauing driuen the hearers into a kind of extaſie & maze, he was importunately requeſted briefly to ſet down in writing ſome of them, namely of ꝑ laſt, which he did. But afterward ſeeing ſundry perſons who deuoyd of remorſe and compaſſion, being through auarice & ambition, degenerate frō all humanitie, and who by their execrable deedes were grown into a reprobate ſence, not being ſatiſfied with ſuch fellonies & miſchiefs as they had committed in deſtroying ſuch a part of ꝯ world by all ſtrāge kinds of cruelties, were now again importunate vppon the King, to the ende vnder his authoritie and

and consent, they might once more returne to committe the like, or worse, if worse might be, he determined to exhibite the saide Summarie which he had in writing and record vnto our Lorde the prince, to the ende his highnesse might finde meanes that they shoulde be denied, which he thought best to put in print, to the ende, his highnesse might with more ease reade the same. This therefore was the cause of this present Summarie, or briefe information.

The Prologue of the Bishop Frier

Bartholomewe de las Casas or Casaus, to the most high and mightie prince, Our Lord Don Philip Prince of Spaine.

MOst high and mightie Lorde, as god by his prouidence hath for the guiding and commoditie of mankinde in this world, in Realmes and Prouinces, appointed kings to bee as fathers, and as Homer nameth them shepheardes, and so consequently the most noble & principall mẽbers of cõmon weales: so can we not iustly doubt by reason of the good willes that kings and princes haue to minister iustice, but that if there be any thinges amisse, either any violences or injuries committed, the only cause that they are not redressed, is, for ỹ princes haue no notice of the same. For certainely if they knew of them, they would imploy all diligence and indeuour in the remedie thereof. Whereof it seemeth that mention is made in the holy Scripture in the Prouerbes of Salomon, where it is said, *Rex qui sedet in solio Iudicii dissipat omne malum intuitu suo.* For it is sufficiently to be presupposed euen of the kindly and natural vertue of a king, that the only notice that he taketh of any mischiefe tormenting his kingdome, is sufficient to procure him, if it bee possible, to roote out the same as being a thing that hee cannot tollerate euen one only moment of time.

Considering therefore with my selfe most mighty

tie Lord the great mischiefes, dammages and losses, (the like wherof it is not to be thoght, were euer cõmitted by mankind) of so large and great kingdoms, or to speake more truely, of this so large new world of the Indies, which God and holy Churche haue cõmitted & cõmẽded vnto the K. of castile, to the end they might gouern, cõuert, & procure their prosperitie as well temporally as spiritually. I therefore (I say) being a man of experience, and fiftie yeeres of age or more, considering these euils, as hauing seene them committed, at my being in those countreys: Also that your highnes hauing information of some notable particularities, might be mooued most earnestly to desire his Maiestie, not to graunt or permit to those tyrantes such conquestes as they haue found out, and which they do so name, (whereinto if they might be suffered they would returne) seeing that of themselues, & being made against this Indian, peaceable, lowly & milde nation which offendeth none, they be wicked, tyrannous, and by all lawes either naturall, humaine or diuine, vtterly condemned, detested and accursed: I thought it best, least my selfe might become also guiltie, by concealing the losse of an infinite number both of soules & bodies whiche are so cõmitted, to cause a few of their dealinges which of late I had selected, frõ amõg infinit others, and that might truely bee reported to bee printed, to the ende your highnes might with more ease peruse and reade them ouer. Also whereas your highnes maister the Archbishop of Toleto, when hee was bishop of Carthagena required them at my handes, and then presented them to your highnes: peraduen-

ture by reaſon of ſuch great voiages as your highnes tooke vpon you, both by ſea and by land for matters of eſtate wherein you haue bin buſied, it may be you haue not peruſed, either haue forgotten them, and in the meane time the raſh and diſordinate deſire of thoſe which thinke it nothing to do wrong, to ſhed ſuch aboundance of mans blood, to make deſolate theſe ſo large countries of their naturall inhabitants and owners, by ſlaying infinite perſons, either to purloyne ſuch incredible treaſures, doe dayly augment, theſe tyraunts proceeding vnder all counterfet titles and colours in their inſtante and importunate ſute, namely, to haue the ſaid cõqueſts permitted and graunted vnto them: Which in truth cannot be graunted without tranſgreſſing the lawe both of nature and of God, and ſo conſequently not without incurring mortall ſinne, worthie moſt terrible and euerlaſting torments: I thought it expedient to doe your highneſſe ſeruice in this briefe Summarie of a moſt large hiſtorie, that might and ought to bee written of ſuch ſlaughters and ſpoyles as they haue made and perpetrated. VVhich I beſeeche your highneſſe to receiue and reade ouer, with that royall clemencie and courteſie, wherewith you vſe to accept and peruſe the workes of ſuch your ſeruants, as no other deſire, but faithfully to employ theẽſelues to the common cõmoditie, and to procure the proſperitie of the royall eſtate.

This Summarie beeing peruſed, and the vildenes of the iniquity committed againſt theſe poore innocent people, in that they are ſlaine and hewed in peeces without deſart, only through the auarice and

ambition of thoſe that pretend to the doing of ſuch execrable deedes, being conſidered, It may pleaſe your highneſſe to deſire, and effectually to perſuade his Maieſtie to denie any whoſoeuer ſhall demaund or require ſo hurtfull and deteſtable enterpriſes: yea, euen to bury any ſuche ſuite or petition in the infernall pit of perpetuall ſilence; thereby ſhewing ſuche terror & diſlike as hereafter no man may be ſo bold, as once to name or ſpeake thereof. And this (moſt mightie Lord) is very expediēt & neceſſarie, to the ende God may proſper, preſerue and make the eſtate of the royall crowne of Caſtile for euer to floriſhe both ſpiritually and temporally.

A briefe Narration of the destruction *of the Indes, by the* Spanyardes.

THe Indes were discouered the yeere one thousande, foure hundred, nientie two, and inhabited by the Spanish the yeere next after ensuing: so as it is about fourtie niene yeeres sithens that the Spaniards some of them wēt into those partes. And the first land that they entered to inhabite, was the great and most fertile Isle of Hispaniola, which contayneth sixe hundreth leagues in compasse. There are other great and infinite Iles rounde about and in the confines on all sides: which wee haue seen the most peopled, and the fullest of their owne natiue people, as any other countrey in the worlde may be. The firme lande lying off from this Ilande two hundreth and fiftie leagues, and somewhat ouer at the most, contayneth in length on the seacoast more then tenne thousande leagues: which are alreadie discouered, and dayly be discouered more and more, all ful of people, as an Emmote hill of Emmots. Insomuch, as by that which since, vnto the yere the fourtieth and one hath beene discouered: It seemeth that God hath bestowed in that same countrey, the gulphe or the greatest portion of mankinde.

GOD created all these innumerable multitudes in euery sorte, very simple, without sutteltie, or craft, without malice, very obedient, and very faithfull to their naturall liege Lordes, and to the Spaniardes, whom they serue, very humble, very patient, very desirous of peace making, and peacefull, without brawles and struglings, without quarrelles, without strife, without rancour or hatred, by no meanes desirous of reuengement.

They are also people very gentle, and very tender, and of an easie complexion, and which can sustayne no trauell, and doe die

very soone of any disease whatsoeuer, in suche sorte as the very children of Princes and Noble men brought vp amongst vs, in all commodities, ease, and delicatenesse, are not more soft then those of that countrey: yea, although they bee the children of labourers. They are also very poore folke, which possesse litle, neither yet do so much as desire to haue much worldly goodes, & therefore neither are they proud, ambitious, nor couetous. Their diet is such (as it seemeth) ỹ of the holy fathers in the desert hath not been more scarse, nor more streight, nor lesse daintie, nor lesse sumptuous. Their appareling is commonly to goe naked: all saue their shamefast partes alone couered. And when they be clothed, at the most, it is but of a mantell of bombacie of an elle and a halfe, or a two elles of linnen square. Their lodging is vpon a matte, and those which haue the best: sleepe as it were vppon a net fastened at the foure corners, which they call in the language of the Ile of Hispaniola, Hamasas. They haue their vnderstanding very pure and quicke, being teachable and capable of all good learning, verye apt to receiue our holy Catholique faith, and to be instructed in good and vertuous maners, hauing lesse encombrances and disturbances to the atteyning therevnto, then al the folke of the world besids, and are so enflamed, ardent, and importune to knowe and vnderstand the matters of the faith after they haue but begunne once to taste them, as likewise the exercise of the Sacraments of the Church, & the diuine seruice: that in truth, the religious men haue need of a singuler patience to support them. And to make an ende, I haue heard many Spaniardes many times holde this as assured, and that whiche they could not deny, concerning the good nature which they sawe in them. Undoubtedly these folkes shoulde be the happiest in the worlde, if onely they knewe God.

Vpon these lambes so meeke, so qualified & endewed of their maker and creator, as hath bin said, entred the Spanish incontinent as they knewe them, as wolues, as lions, & as tigres most cruel of long time famished: and haue not done in those quarters these 40. yeres be past, neither yet doe at this present, ought els saue teare them in peeces, kill them, martyre them, afflict them, torment them, & destroy them by straunge sortes of cruelties ne-

uer neither ſeene,nor reade,nor heard of the like (of the which ſome ſhall bee ſet downe hereafter)ſo farre forth that of aboue three Millions of ſoules that were in the Ile of Hiſpaniola, and that we haue ſeene, there are not nowe two hundreth natiues of the countrey. The Ile of Cuba,the which is in length as farre as frõ Vallodolyd vntil Rome,is at this day as it were al waſte. S.Johns ile,and that of Iamayca both of them very great', very fertil,and very fayre:are deſolate.Likewiſe the iles of Lucayos, neere to the ile of Hiſpaniola, and of the north ſide vnto that of Cuba,in number being aboue threeſcore Ilandes,together with thoſe which they cal the iles of Geante, one with another,great and litle,whereof the very wurſt is fertiler then the kings gardẽ at Seuill,and the countrey the healthſomeſt in the world:there were in theſe ſame iles more then fiue hundreth thouſand ſoules, and at this day there is not one only creature. For they haue bin all of them ſlayne,after that they had drawen thẽ out from thence to labour in their minerals in the ile of Hiſpaniola, where there were no more left of the inbornes natiues of that iland. A ſhip riding for the ſpace of three yeeres betwixt all theſe ilands, to the ende,after the inning of this kinde of vintage,to gleane and cull the remainder of theſe folke(for there was a good Chriſtian moued with pitie and compaſſion,to conuert & win vnto Chriſt ſuch as might be found)there were not found but eleuẽ perſons whiche I ſaw:other iles more then thirtie nere to the ile of S.John haue likewiſe bin diſpeopled and marred.All theſe iles contayn aboue two thouſand leagues of lande, and are all diſpeopled and laide waſte.

As touching the maine firme lande,wee are certaine that our Spaniardes, by their cruelties & curſed doings haue diſpeopled & made deſolate more then ten realmes greater then all Spaine, compriſing alſo therewith Aragon and Portugall, and twiſe as much or more land then there is from Seuill to Jeruſalem whiche are aboue a thouſand leagues : whiche realmes as yet vnto this preſent day remaine in a wildernes and vtter deſolation,hauing bin befor time as well peopled as was poſſible.

We are able to yeeld a good and certaine accompt,that there is bin ẏ ſpace of ẏ ſaid 40.yeeres,by thoſe ſaid tyrãnies & diuliſh

doings of the Spaniards doen to death vniustly and tyrannously more then twelue Millions of soules, men, women, and children. And I verilie do beleeue, and thinke not to mistake therein, that there are dead more then fifteene Millions of soules.

Those whiche haue got them out of Spaine into that countrey, bearing them selues as Christians, haue kept two generall and principall wayes to eradicate and abolishe from off the face of the earth those miserable nations: The one is their vniust, cruell, bloodie and tyrannicall warre. That other maner is, that they haue slayne all those which coulde any kinde of wayes so muche as gaspe, breath, or thinke to set them selues at libertie, or but to withdrawe them selues from the tormentes whiche they endure, as are all the naturall Lordes, and the men of valour and courage. For commonly they suffer not in the warres to liue any, saue children and women: oppressing also afterwardes those very same with the most cruel, dreadful, and hainous thraldome that euer hath been layde vpon men or beastes. Unto these two kindes of tyranie diabolicall, may be reduced and sorted as it were the issues one vnder another to their head, all other their diuerse and infinite maners of dooing which they keept to lay desolate, and roote out those folke without number.

The cause why the Spanishe haue destroyed suche an infinite of soules, hath been onely, that they haue helde it for their last scope and marke to gette golde, and to enriche them selues in a short tyme, and to mount at one leape to very high estates, in no wise agreeable to their persons: or, for to say in a word, the cause hereof hath been their auarice and ambition, whiche hath seased them the exceedingest in the worlde in consideration of those landes so happie and rich, and the people so humble, so patient, and so easie to be subdued. Whom they haue neuer had any respect, or made any more accompt of (I speake the trueth of that whiche I haue seene all the tyme that I was there conuersant) I say not then of beastes (for woulde to GOD that they had entreated and esteemed them but as beastes:) but lesse then of the myre of the streetes, and euen as muche care is it that they haue had of their liues and of their soules. And by this meanes haue died so many Millions without faith and without sacramentes.

It is a certaine veritie, and that which alſo the tyrants them ſelues knowe right well and confeſſe, that the Indiens throughout all the Indes neuer wrought any diſpleaſure vnto the Spaniardes: but rather that they reputed them as come from heauen, vntill ſuche tyme as they, or their neighbours had receiued the firſt, ſundrie wronges, being robbed, killed, forced, and tormented by them.

Of the Ile of hiſpaniola.

IN the Ile Hiſpaniola, which was the firſt (as we haue ſaid) where the Spaniardes arriued, beganne the great ſlaughters and ſpoyles of people: the Spaniardes hauing begunne to take their wiues and children of the Indies, for to ſerue their turne and to vſe them ill, and hauing begunne to eate their victualles, gotten by their ſweate and trauell: not contenting them ſelues with that which the Indians gaue them of their owne good will, euery one after their habilitie, the which is algates very ſmall, foraſmuch as they are accuſtomed to haue no more ſtore, then they haue ordinarily neede of, and that ſuch as they get with litle trauell: And that which might ſuffice for three houſeholdes, reconing tenne perſons for eche houſholde for a moneths ſpace, one ſpaniarde woulde eate and deſtroy in a day.

Nowe after ſundry other forces, violences, and tormentes, which they wrought againſt them: the Indians beganne to perceiue, that thoſe were not men diſcended from heauen. Some of them therefore hid their victuals: others hid their wiues and children: ſome others fledde into the mountaynes, to ſeparate them ſelues a farre off from a nation of ſo harde natured and ghaſtly conuerſation. The Spaniardes bufeted them with their fiſtes and baſtonades: preſſing alſo to lay handes vpon the Lordes of the Townes. And theſe caſes ended in ſo great an hazarde and deſperatenes, that a Spaniſhe Captaine durſt aduenture to rauiſh forcibly the wife of the greateſt king and Lord of this Ile. Since whiche tiine the Indians began to ſearche meanes to caſt the Spaniardes out of their landes, and ſet them

ſelues

selues in armes: but what kind of armes? very feeble and weake to withstand or resist, and of lesse defence (wherfore all their wars are no more warres then the playings of children, when as they play at Jogo di Canne or Reedes.) The Spaniardes with their Horses, their speares and launces, beganne to commit murders, and straunge cruelties: they entred into Townes, Borowes, and Villages, sparing neyther children, nor old men, neither women with childe, neyther them that lay In, but that they ripped their bellies, and cut them in pieces, as if they had been opening of Lambes shut vp in their folde. They layed wagers with such as with one thrust of a swoorde woulde paunche or bowell a man in the middest, or with one blowe of a swoorde woulde most redily and most deliuerly cut off his head, or that woulde best pearce his entrals at one stroke. They tooke the little soules by the heeles, ramping them from the mothers dugges, and crushed their heades against the cliftes. Others they cast into the riuers laughing and mocking, and when they tombled into the water, they sayde, nowe shift for thy selfe such a ones corpes. They put others, together with their mothers and all that they met, to the edge of the sword. They made certayne Gibbets long and low, in such sort, that the feete of the hanged on, touched in a maner the ground, euery one enough for thirteene, in the honour and worship of our Sauiour and his twelue Apostles (as they vsed to speake) and setting to fire, burned them all quicke that were fastened. Unto all others, whom they vsed to take and reserue aliue, cutting off their two handes as neere as might bee, and so letting them hang, they sayd: Get you with these letters, to carry tydinges to those which are fled by the mountaines. They murdered commonly the Lordes and nobilitie on this fashion: They made certayne grates of perches layed on pickforkes, and made a litle fire vnderneath, to the intent, that by litle and litle yelling and despeiring in these tormentes, they might giue vp the ghost.

One time I sawe foure or fiue of the principall Lordes roasted and broyled vppon these gradeirons. Also I thinke that there were two or three of these gredirons, garnished with the lyke furniture, and for that they cryed out piti,

pitiouſly,which thing troubled the Captayne that hee could not then ſleepe:hee commaunded to ſtrangle them. The Sergeant, which was woꝛſe then the hangman that burned them(I knowe his name and friendes in Seuill) woulde not haue them ſtrangled,but him ſelfe putting boulets in their mouthes,to the ende þ they ſhould not crie,put to the fire,vntil they were ſoftly roſted after his deſire. I haue ſeene all the afoꝛeſayd things and others infinite. And foꝛaſmuch, as all the people which coulde flee, hid themſelues in the mountaynes, and mounted on the toppes of them, fled from the men ſo without all manhood, emptie of all pitie,behauing them as ſauage beaſtes,the ſlaughterers and deadly enemies of mankinde : they taught their houndes,fierce dogs,to teare them in peeces at the firſt viewe, and in the ſpace that one might ſay a Credo,aſſayled and deuoured an Indian as if it had been a ſwine. Theſe dogges wꝛought great deſtructions and ſlaughters. And foꝛaſmuche as ſometimes,although ſeldom, when the indians put to death ſome Spaniards vpon good right and lawe of due Iuſtice : they made a Lawe betweene them, that foꝛ one Spaniarde , they had to ſlay an hundꝛeth Indians.

The realmes which were in this Ile of Hiſpaniola.

There were in this Ile Hiſpaniola, fiue greate principall realmes,and fiue very mightie Kinges, vnto whome almoſt all the other Loꝛdes obeyed, whiche were without number. There were alſo certaine Loꝛdes of other ſeuerall Pꝛouinces, which did not acknowledge foꝛ ſoueraigne any of theſe Kinges: One realme was named Magua,which is as much to ſay,as the kingdome of the playne. This plaine is one of the moſt famous and moſt admirable thinges of all that is in the woꝛlde . Foꝛ it contayneth foureſcoꝛe leagues of grounde, from the South ſea vnto the Noꝛth ſea : hauing in bꝛeadth fiue leagues,and eight vnto tenne.

It hath in one side and other exceeding high mountaynes. There entreth into it aboue thirtie thousande riuers and lakes, of the which twelue are as great as Ebro, and Ducro, and Guadalqueuir. And all the riuers which issue out of a Mountayne which is towardes the West, in number about fiue and twentie thousande, are very rich of golde. In the which mountayne or mountaynes, is contayned the prouince of Cibao, from whence the mines of Cibao take their names, and from whence commeth the same exquisite golde and fine of 24. karrets, which is so renowmed in these partes. The King and Lorde of this realme was called Guarionex, which had vnder him his Vassals and Lieges so great and mightie, that euery one of them was able to set forth threescore thousande men of armes for the seruice of the king Guarionex. Of the which Lordes I haue knowen some certayne. This Guarionex was very obedient and vertuous, naturally desirous of peace, and well affectioned to the deuotion of the kings of Castile, and his people gaue by his commaundement, euery housekeeper a certayne kinde of Dromme full of golde: but after wardes being not able to fill the Dromme cutte it off by the middest, and gaue the halfe thereof full. For the Indians of that Ile had litle or none industrie or practise to gather, or drawe golde out of the mines. This Caceque presented vnto the king of Castile his seruice, in causing to be manured all the landes from the Isabella, where the Spanish first sited, vnto the Towne of Saint Domingo, which are fiftie leagues large, on condition that hee shoulde exact of them no golde: for he sayd, (and hee sayde the trueth) that his subiectes had not the skill to drawe it out. As for the manuring which he sayde hee woulde procure to bee done: I knowe that hee coulde haue done it very easely, and with great readinesse, and that it woulde haue been worth vnto the king euery yeere more then three Millions of Castillans, besids that it would haue caused, that at this houre there had bin aboue fiftie Cities greater then Seuille.

The payment that they made to this good king and Lord, so gracious and so redowbted, was to dishonour him in the person of his wife, an euill Christian, a Captayne rauishing her. This king coulde haue attended the time and opportunitie to a-

uenge

uenge him ſelfe in leuiyng ſome armie: but he aduiſed to withdrawe him ſelfe rather, and onely to hide him out of the way, thus being baniſhed from his realme and ſtate, into a prouince of the Cignaios, where there was a great Lorde his vaſſall. After that the Spaniardes were ware of his abſence, and hee coulde no longer hide himſelfe: they make warre againſt the Lorde which had giuen him entertaynement, and make great ſlaughters through the countrey as they goe, till in the ende they found and tooke him, thruſting him loden with chaines and irons into a Shippe, to carrie him to Caſtile: which ſhippe was loſt vppon the ſea, and there were with him drowned many Spaniardes, and a great quantitie of Golde, amongſt the whiche alſo was the great wedge of Golde, like vnto a great loafe, weying three thouſande, ſixe hundreth Caſtillans. Thus it pleaſed GOD to weake vengeance of matters ſo lewde and ſo enormous.

The other realme was called of Marien, where is at this day the port at one of the boundes of the playne, towardes the North: and it is farre greater then the realme of Portugall, & much fertiler, worthy to be inhabited, hauing great mountaines, and mynes of golde, and copper very rich. The king was called Guacanagari, which had vnder him many great Lordes, of the which I haue knowen and ſeene ſundrie. In this kinges countrey arriued firſt the olde admyrall, when he diſcouered the Indies, whom at that time that he diſcouered the Ile, the ſaid Guacanagari receiued ſo graciouſly, bountifully, & curteouſly withall the Spaniardes who were with him, in giuing him all entertainment and ſuccour, for at the very inſtant was the ſhippe loſt, (which the Admirall was carried in) that he coulde not haue bin better made off in his owne countrey of his owne Father. This did I vnderſtand of the Admyrals owne mouth. This king died, in flying the ſlaughters and cruelties of the Spaniards through the mountaynes, beeyng deſtroyed and depriued of his eſtate. And all the other Lordes his ſubiectes died in the tyrannie, and ſeruitude that ſhall be declared hereafter.

The thirde Realme and dominion was Maguana, a countrey alſo admirable, very healthſome, and very fertile, where the

best sugar of the Ile at this day is made.

The king of this countrey was named Caonabo, who surpassed all ỹ others in strength and state, in grauitie, & in the ceremonies of his seruice. The Spaniardes tooke this king with great subtiltie and malice, euen as hee was in his owne house, doubting him of nothing. They conueyed him afterwardes into a shippe to carrie him to Castile: but as there attended them sixe other shippes in the porte all readie to hoyse vp sayle: Beholde howe God by his iust iudgement, woulde declare, that it, with other thinges, was an exceeding great iniquitie and vniust, by sending the same night a tempest, which sunke and drenched that nauie with the Spaniardes that were within. There died also with them the sayde Caonabo, charged with boltes and irons. This Prince had three or foure brothers valient men, and courageous like him selfe, who considering the imprisonment of their Lorde and brother so against all equitie, together with the wasts and slaughters which the Spaniardes made in other realmes, and specially after that they had heard that the king their brother was dead, they put them selues in armes to encounter the Spaniardes, and to auenge the wrong: who on the other side meeting with them on Horsebacke (a daungerous weapon aboue all that may bee to annoy the Indians with) so they rage in discomfitures and massacres, that the one moytie of this Realme hath beene thereby desolate and dispeopled.

The fourth Realme is the same whiche is named of Xaragua. This Realme was as it were the centre or middle point, or to speake of, as the court of this Isle, the diamonde ouer all the other Realmes in language and polished speech, in policie and good maners, the best composed and ordered. For as much as there were many noble Lordes and Gentlemen, the people also beeing the best made and most bewtifull. The King had to name Behechio, which had a sister called Anacaona. These two, the brother and sister, had done great seruices to the kings of Castile, and great good turnes to the Spaniardes, deliuiring them from sundrie daungers of death.

After

After the decease of Behechio, Anocaona remayned sole Soueraigne of the Realme. At a time came into this realme the Gouernour of this Ile with threescore Horses, and more then three hundreth footemen (the horsemen alone had beene enough to spoyle and ouerrunne not this Ile alone, but all the firme lande withal:) And to him came beeing called, more then three hundreth Lordes vnder assuraunce, of whome the chiefest, hee fraudulently caused to bee conueyed into a house of thatch, and commaunded to set to fire. Nowe on this wise were these Lordes burned all aliue: all the rest of the Lordes, with other folk infinite, were smitten to death with their speares and swordes.

But the Soueraigne Ladie Anacaona, to doe her honour they hanged. It happened that certaine Spaniardes, eyther of pitie, or of couetousnesse, hauing taken and detayned certayne young striplinges to make them their Pages: because they woulde not haue them slayne, and setting them behinde them on their horse backes: another Spaniarde came behinde, whiche stabbed them through with a speare. If so bee any childe or boy tombled downe to the grounde, another Spaniarde came and cutte off his legges.

Some certayne of these Indians which coulde escape this crueltie so vnnaturall, passed ouer vnto a litle Ile neere vnto the other, within an eyght leagues. The gouernour condemned all those which had passed the water, to become slaues: because they had fled from their boutcherie.

The fifth Realme was called Higney, ouer the whiche raigned an auncient Queene named Hignanama, whome the Spaniardes hanged vp. The people were infinite whome I sawe burnt aliue, and rent in pieces, and tormented diuersly and straungely; and whome I sawe made slaues, euen so many as they tooke aliue.

And nowe for as muche as there are so manye particularities in these Massacres and destruction of those

those peoples, that they can not conueniently be comprised in writing (yea I doe verily beleeue that of a number of thinges to be spoken of, there can not be disciphered of a thousande partes one:) I wil only in that which cõcerneth the warres aboue mentioned conclude, auerre, and iustifie in conscience, and as before God, that of all others, which I ouerpasse to speake of, or shall bee able to speake of, the Indians neuer gaue no more occasion or cause, then might a conuent of good religious persons well ordered, why they shoulde bee robbed and slayne, and why those that escaped the death, shoulde be retayned in a perpetuall captiuitie and bondage.

I affirme yet moreouer, for ought that I can beleeue or coniecture, that, during all the time that all this huge number of these Islanders haue been murdered and made away vtterly, they neuer committed against the Spaniardes any one mortall offence, punishable by the law of man. And concerning offences, of the which the punishment is reserued vnto God, as are desire of reuengement, hatred, and rancour, which these people might beare against enemies so capitall as were the Spaniardes, that very fewe persons haue been attached with the blemishe, and lesse violent and forcible did I finde them, by the good experience I had of them, then children of tenne or twelue yeeres of age. And I knowe for certayne and infallible, that the Indians had euermore most iust cause of warre against the Spaniardes: but the Spaniardes neuer had any iust cause of warre agaynst the Indians, but they were all diabolicall and most vnrighteous, more then can bee spoken of any tyrant that is on the whole earth. And I affirme the selfe same for all their other actes and gestes by them done throughout all the Indes.

The warres atchieued, and all the men done to death thereby reserued commonly the young folke, women, and children, (the which they departed among them, in giuing vnto one thirtie, to another fourtie, and to another an hundreth, or two hundreth, according as euery one had the fauour of the head Tyrant, whom they called the Gouernour) they gaue them to the Spaniardes vpon that condition and colour, that they woulde teache them the Catholike faith, they themselues who tooke vppon them

them this charge of ſoules, commõly all idiots, or vtterly ignorant perſons, barbarous men, extreemely couetous and vitious.

Nowe the carke and care that theſe had of them, was to ſend the men vnto the mines, to make them dyein them out golde, which is an intollerable trauell: and the women they beſtowed into the countrey to their farmes, to manure and till the ground, which is a ſore trauell, euen for the very men, the ableſt and mightieſt. They gaue to eate neither to one nor other, nought ſaue graſſes and ſuch like thinges of no ſubſtance: in ſuche ſorte as the milke of the breſtes of the wiues newe deliuered of their childbyrth dryed vp: and thus dyed in a ſmall ſeaſon, all the litle creatures their young children. Further, by reaſon of the ſeparation and not cohabiting of the men with their wiues, the generation ceaſed betweene them. The men died with toyle and famine in the mineralles: theſe the women died of the ſame in the fieldes. By theſe meanes were conſumed and brought to their endes ſo huge a number of the folke of this Iſlande. By the like might be aboliſhed and exterpate, all the inhabitantes of the worlde.

As touching loding, they layde vpon them foureſcore or an hundreth poundes waight, which they ſhoulde carrie an hundreth or two hundreth leagues: The Spaniſh alſo cauſing themſelues to be carried in lytres vppon men armes, or beddes made by the Indians, in faſhion of nettes. For they ſerued their turnes with them to tranſporte their carriages and bagage as beaſtes, wherby they had vpon their backes & ſhoulders, wailes and galles as poore galled beaſts. Alſo as touching whippings, baſtonading, buffeting, blowes with the fiſt, curſing, and a thouſande other kindes of torments, which they practiſed vpon them during the time that they trauayled, of a trueth, they can not bee recounted in a long ſeaſon, nor written in a great deale of paper, and they ſhoulde bee euen to affright men withall.

It is to be noted, that the deſtruction of theſe iles and lands, beganne after the deceaſe of the moſt gracious Queene, dame Iſabell, which was the yeere, a thouſande, fiue hundreth, and foure. For before there were layed waſte in this ile, but certayne Prouinces by vniuſt warre, and that not wholly altoge-

ther, & these for ẏ moze part, oz in a maner al were cõcealed frõ the knowledge of ẏ Q. (vnto whõ it may please god to giue his holy glozy) forasmuch as she had a great desire, & a zeale admirable, ẏ those people might be saued & prosper, as we do know good examples, the ẅ we haue seen ẅ our eies, & felt with our hands.

Further note here, ẏ in what part of ẏ Indies ẏ Spanishe haue come, they haue euermoze exercised against ẏ Indiãs, these innocẽt peoples, ẏ cruelties afozesaid, & oppzessiõs abominable, & inuẽted day by day new tozmẽts, huger & monstrouser, becõming euery day moze cruel. wherfoze god also gaue thẽ ouer to fal headlong down with a moze extreme downfal into a repzobate sense.

Of the two Iles S. Iohn. and Iamayca.

THe Spanish passed ouer to ẏ Isle of S. Iohn, & to ẏ of Iamayca (ẅ were like gardens foz bees) 1509. setting befoze thẽ ẏ same end which they had in the Isle Hispaniola, & committing the robberies & crimes afozesaid, adioyning therunto many great & notable cruelties, killing, burning, rosting & casting thẽ to ẏ dogs: farthermoze, afterwards oppzessing, & vexing them in their minerals & other trauel, vnto ẏ rotting out of those poze innocẽts ẅ were in these two Isles, by supputatiõ 6. C. M. soules: yea I beleue, ẏ they were moze thẽ a miliõ, although there be not at this day in either Isle, 200. persons, and all perished without faith and without Sacramentes.

Of the Ile of Cuba.

IN the yere 1511. they passed to ẏ Isle of Cuba, which is (as I haue said) as long as there is distãce frõ Uallodelid to Rome, (where were great pzouinces, & great multitudes of people) they both begã & concluded ẅ thẽ after ẏ facion afoze spoken, yea wurse & far moze cruelly. There came to passe in this Isãd, matters wozth ẏ noting: A Cacique, named Hathuey, which had conueyed himselfe frõ ẏ Isle Hispaniola to Cuba, ẅ many of his people, to auoid the calamities & practises so vnnatural of ẏ spanish: when as certain Indians had told him tidings ẏ the Spaniards were cõming towards Cuba, he assẽbled his men, & bespake thẽ: Nowe you know that the Spaniards are cõming on this side, & ye knowe also by experience, how they haue entreated such, and such, & the people of Hayti (meaning thereby Hispaniola) hither they come to do ẏ like here. Wot ye why they do it? they answe,

red,no, vnlesse it bee ẏ they are by nature void of humanitie. He replied: They do it not onely for ẏ: but because they haue a god whom they honor, & do demand very much, & to ẏ end to haue frõ vs as wel as others to honor him wall, they do their vttermost to subdue vs. He had thẽ by him a litle chest ful of gold & Iewels, & said, Behold here the God of the Spaniards, let vs do to him, if it so seeme you good, Aretos (which are windlesses & daunces) thus doing, we shall please him, & he wil comniand ẏ Spaniards ẏ they shal do vs no harme: They answerd all with a loud voyce: Wel said sir, wel said. Thus then they daũsed before it, vntil they were wery, thẽ quoth the L. Hathuey, Take we heed how euer ẏ world go, if we keep him, to ẏ end ẏ he be takẽ away frõ vs, in the end they wil kill vs: wherfore let vs cast him into ẏ riuer: wherunto they all agreed, and so they cast it into a great riuer there.

This L. & Cacik wẽt alwaies fleeing ẏ spanish, incontinent as they were arriued at ẏ ile of Cuba, as he ẅ knew thẽ but too wel, & defẽded himself, whẽ as he met thẽ. In ẏ end he was takẽ, & only for because that he fled frõ a nation so vniust & cruel, & that he defended himself frõ such as would kil him, & oppresse him euen vnto ẏ death, ẅ all his folk, he was burned aliue. Now as he was fastned to the stake, a religious mã of S. Frãcis order, a deuout persõ, spake to him somwhat of God & of our faith, which things this said L. had neuer heard of, yet might be sufficiẽt for the time which ẏ butchers gaue him, that if he would beleue those things which were spokẽ to him, he should go to heauen, where is glory & rest euerlasting, ẏ if he did not beleue, he should go to hel, there to be tormẽted perpetually. The L. after hauing a litle paused to think of ẏ matter, demanded of the religious man, whether ẏ the spaniards went to heauen: who answered, yea: such of them that were good. The Cacik answered againe immediatly ẅout any further deliberation, that he would not go to heauen, but that hee would go to hell, to the ende, not to come in the place where such people should be, and to the end not to see a nation so cruell. Loe here the praises and honour, which God and our faith haue receiued of the Spaniardes, which haue gone to the Indes.

One tyme the Indians came to meete vs, and to receiue vs with victualles, and delicate cheere, and with

all entertaynment ten leagues of a great city, and beeing come at the place, they preſented vs with a great quantitie of fiſhe, and of bread, and other meate, together with all that they coulde doe for vs to the vttermoſt.

See incontinent the diuell, whiche put him ſelfe into the Spaniardes, to put them all to the edge of the ſworde in my preſence, without any cauſe whatſoeuer, more then three thouſande ſoules, which were ſet before vs, men, women, and children. I ſaw there ſo great cruelties, that neuer any man liuing eyther haue or ſhall ſee the like.

Another tyme, but a fewe dayes after the premiſſes, I ſente meſſengers vnto all the Lordes of the prouince of Hauana, aſſuring them, that they ſhoulde not neede to feeare (for they had hearde of my credite) and that without withdrawing themſelues, they ſhoulde come to receiue vs, and that there ſhoulde bee done vnto them no diſpleaſure: for all the countrey was afraide, by reaſon of the miſchiefes and murderings paſſed, and this did I by the aduice of the Captayne him ſelfe. After that wee were come into the Prouince, one and twentie Lordes and Caciques came to receiue vs, whome the Captayne apprehended incontinent, breaking the ſafe conduite whiche I had made them, and intended the day next following to burne them aliue, ſaying that it was expedient ſo to doe, for that otherwiſe thoſe Lordes one day, woulde doe vs a ſhrewde turne. I founde mee ſelfe in a great deale of trouble to ſaue them from the fire: howbeit in the ende they eſcaped.

After that the Indians of this Iſlande were thus brought into bondage and calamitie, like vnto thoſe of the Ile of Hiſpaniola, and that they ſawe that they dyed and periſhed all without remedie: ſome of them began to flie into the mountaynes, others quite deſperate hanged them ſelues, and there hung together huſbandes with their wiues, hanging with them their little children. And through the crueltie of one onely Spaniarde, whiche was a great tyraunt, and one whom I knowe, there hunge them ſelues more then two hundred Indians: and of this faſhion died an infinitie of people.

There was in this Ile an officer of the kinges, to whome they

they gaue for his ſhare three hundred Indians, of whome at the ende of three monethes there died by him in the trauayle of the mynes, two hundred and ſixtie: in ſuche ſorte, that there remained nowe but thirtie, which was the tenth part. Afterwardes they gaue him as many more, and more, and thoſe alſo he made hauocke of in like maner, and ſtill as many as they gaue him, ſo many hee ſlewe vntill hee dyed him ſelfe, and that the diuell carried him away.

In three or foure monethes (mee ſelfe beeing preſent) there died more then ſixe thouſande children, by reaſon that they had plucked away from them their fathers and mothers whiche they ſent into the mines. I behelde alſo other things frightfull.

Shortly after they reſolued to climbe after thoſe whiche were in the mountaynes, where they wrought alſo ghaſtly ſlaughters, and thus laide waſte all this Ile: which wee behelde not long after, and it is great pitie to ſee it ſo diſpeopled and deſolate as it is.

Of the firme lande.

IN the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred, and foureteene, there landed in the maine a miſchieuous gouernour, a moſt cruell tyraunt, which had neyther pitie nor prudencie in him, being as an inſtrumēt of the wrath of God, fully reſolued to ſet into this land a great nūber of Spaniards. And howbeit ỹ aforetime certayne other tyrauntes had entred the lande, and had ſpoyled, murdered, and cruelly entreated very many folke: yet was it not but on the ſea coaſt that they ſpoyled, and robbed, and did the worſt that they could. But this ſurpaſſed all the others whiche came before him, and all thoſe of all the Ilandes, howe curſed and abhominable ſoeuer they were in all their doings. He not onely waſted or diſpeopled the ſea coaſt, but ſacked alſo great realmes and countreys, making hauockes by ſlaying and murdering of peoples, infinite to bee numbred, and ſending them to hell. He ouerranne and herried moſt of the places in the land, from Darien vpwarde, vnto the Realme and Prouinces of Ni-

caragua within being, which are moze then fiue hũdzed leagues of the beſt and moſt fertile grounde in the whole wozlde, where there were a good number of great Lozdes, with a number of townes, bozrowes, and villages, and ſtoze of gold in moze abundaunce then was to bee founde on the earth vntyll that pzeſent. Foz albeit that Spaine was as it were replenifhed with gold, of the fineſt that came from the Ile Hiſpaniola: the ſame had been only dzawen out of the entrals of the earth by the Indians, of ỹ mines, afozeſaid, wher they died as hath been ſayde.

This gouernour with his men, found out newe ſozts of cruelties and tozments, to cauſe them to diſcouer and giue him golde. There was a captayne of his, which flue in one walke and courſe which was made by his commaundement, to robbe and roote out moze then fourtie thouſand ſoules, putting them to ỹ e[illegible]ge of the ſwozd, burning thẽ, & giuing thẽ to ỹ dogs, & tozmẽtin[illegible]hem diuerſly: ẅ alſo a religious man of the ozder of S. Fra[illegible], who went ẅ him, beheld ẅ his eies, and had to name frier F[illegible]ncis of S. Romaine.

The moſt pernicious blindnes, ẅ hath alwaies poſſeſſed thoſe who haue gouerned the Indians in ſtead of the care ẅ they ſhold haue foz the conuerſion & ſaluation of thoſe people, (ẅ they haue alwaies neglected, their mouth ẅ painted fables ſpeaking one thing, but their hear t thinking another) came to ỹ paſſe, as to cõmand ozders to be ſet down vnto ỹ Indians to receiue the faith, & render thẽſelues vnto ỹ obediẽce of the K. of Caſtile, oz otherwiſe to bid thẽ battel ẅ fire & ſwozde, & to ſlay thẽ oz make thẽ ſlaues: As if ỹ ſonne of God which died foz euery one of thẽ had cõmanded in his law, wher he ſaith, Go teach al nations, ỹ there ſhould be ozdinãces ſet down vnto infidels, being peaceſull & quiet, & in poſſeſſion of their pzoper lande, if ſo be they receiued it not foozth with, ẅout any pzeaching oz teaching firſt had: & if ỹ they ſubmitted not thẽſelues to ỹ dominiõ of a king, whõ they neuer ſawe & whom they neuer heard ſpeake of, & namely ſuch a one as whoſe meſſengers & mẽ were ſo cruel, & ſo debarred frõ all pitie, & ſuch hozrible tyrãts, ỹ they ſhould foz ỹ loſe their goods & lands, their liberty, their wiues & childzẽ, ẅ their liues. Which is a thing too abſurd & fond, wozthy of al repzoch & mockery, yea wozthy of hel fire, in ſuch ſozt as whẽ this wicked and wzetched gouernour had

accepted the charge, to put in execution the ſayde ordinances, to the end to make them ſeeme ẏ more iuſt in appearance. For they were of thẽſelues impertinent, againſt all reaſon & law, he commanded (or peraduenture ẏ thieues, whom he diſpatched to doe ẏ executiõ, did it of their own heads) whẽ they were purpoſed to go a rouing & robbing of any place, where they knewe ẏ there was any gold, ẏ Indians being in their townes & dwelling houſes, wout miſtruſting any thing, ẏ wicked Spaniards would go after ẏ guiſe of thieues, vnto within halfe a league neere ſome town, borowe, or village, and there by themſelues alone, & by night make a reading, publication, or proclamation of ẏ ſaid ordinances, ſaying thus, Oyes Caciques & Indians of this firme land of ſuch a place: Be it knowen vnto you, that there is one God, one Pope, one king of Caſtile, which is L. of theſe landes: make your appearance, al delay ſet aſide, here to do him homage, &c. Which if you ſhall not accompliſh: Be it knowen vnto you, ẏ we wil make war vpõ you, and we wil kil you, & make you ſlaues. Hereupon at the fourth watch in ẏ morning, the poore innocents, ſleeping yet with their wiues and children: theſe tyrantes ſet vppon the place, caſting fire on the houſes which commonly were thatched, & ſo burn vp all quick men, womẽ & children, more ſodainely thẽ that they could of a great many be perceiued. They maſſacred at the inſtant thoſe that ſeemed thẽ good, & thoſe whõ they took priſonners, they cauſed thẽ cruelly to die vpõ ẏ rack, to make thẽ to tell in what places there were any more golde thẽ they found wth them: and others which remayned aliue, they made them ſlaues, marking them with a hot iron, ſo after the fire being out & quenched, they go ſeeke the golde in their houſes. This is then the deportement in theſe affayres of this miſchieuous perſon, with all the bond of his vngodly Chriſtians, which hee trayned from the fourteenth yeere, vnto the one and twentie, or two and twentieth yeere, ſending in theſe exploytes ſixe or moe of his ſeruants or ſouldiers, by whom he receiued as many ſhares, ouer and beeſides his Captaynes Generalles part, which he leuied of all the golde, of all the pearles, and of all the iewels which they tooke of thoſe whom they made their ſlaues. The ſelfſame did ẏ kings officers, euery one ſending forth as many ſeruants as he coulde.

The Byshoppe also, which was the chiefe in the Realme, hee sent his seruauntes to haue his share in the bootie : They spoyled more golde within the tyme, and in this realme, as farre forth as I am able to recken, then woulde amount to a million of Ducates, yea, I beleeue, that I make my reckoning with the least. Yet will it bee founde, that of all this great thieuing, they neuer sent to the king ought saue three thousande Castillans, hauing there about killed and destroyed aboue eyght hundred thousande soules.

The other tyraunt gouernours which succeeded after, vnto the yeere thirtie and three, flue, or at least wise consented, for all those which remayned to slay them in that tyrannicall slauerie.

Amongst an infinite sorte of mischiefes, which this gouernoure did, or consented vnto the doing during the time of his gouernment, this was one: To witte, that a Cacike or Lorde giuing him, eyther of his good will, or whiche is rather to bee thought for feare, the weight of niene thousande Ducates: the Spaniardes not content withall, tooke the saide Lorde, and tyed him to a stake, setting him on the earth, his feete stretched vp, against the which they set fire to cause him to giue thē some more golde. The Lorde sent to his house, whence there were brought yet moreouer three thousand Castillans. They goe a freshe to giue him newe tormentes. And when the Lorde gaue them no more, eyther because he had it not, or because hee woulde giue them no more, they bent his feete agaynst the fyre, vntill that the very marrowe sprang out and trylled downe the sowles of his feete : so as hee therewith died. They haue oftentimes exercised these kinde of tormentes towardes the Lordes, to make them giue them golde, wherewith they haue also slayne them.

An other tyme, a certayne companie of Spaniardes, vsing their thestes and robberies, came to a mountayne, where were assembled and hid a number of people, hauing shunned those men so pernicious and horrible: whom incontinent entring vpon, they tooke a three or fourescore, as well women as mayds, hauing killed as many as they could kill.

The morrowe after, there assembled a great companie of

Indi-

Indians, to purſue the Spaniardes, warring againſt them for the great deſire they had to recouer their wiues and daughters.

The Spaniards perceiuing the Indians to approche ſo neere vpon them, would not ſo forgo their pray, but ſtabd their ſwords thorowe the bellies of the wiues and wenches, leauing but one alone aliue of all the foureſcore. The Indians felt their hearts to burſt for ſorrowe and griefe which they ſuffered, yelling out in cries and ſpeaking ſuche woordes: O wicked men, O yee the cruell Spaniardes: doe yee kill Las Iras? They terme Iras in that countrey the women: as if they woulde ſay, To kyll women, thoſe be actes of abhominable men, and cruell as beaſtes.

There was a tenne or fifteene leagues from Joanama, a great Lorde named Paris, which was very riche of golde: The Spaniardes went thither, whome this Lorde receiued as if they had been his own brethen, and made a preſent vnto the Captaine of fiftie thouſand Caſtillans of his own voluntarie accord. It ſeemed vnto the Captaine and the other Spaniardes, that he which gaue ſuch a great ſumme of his owne will, ſhoulde haue a great treaſure, which ſhoulde be the ende and eaſing of their traueyles. They make wiſe, and pretende in woordes to depart: but they returne at the fourth watch of the morning, ſetting vpon the towne which miſtruſted nothing, ſet it on fire, whereby was burnt and ſlayne a great number of people, & by this meanes they brought away in the ſpoyle fiftie, or threeſcore thouſand Caſtillans moe.

The Cacik or Lorde eſcaped without being ſlayne or taken, and leuied incontinent as many of his as he coulde. And at the ende of three or foure dayes, ouertaketh the Spaniardes whiche had taken from him an hundreth and thirtie, or fourtie thouſande Caſtillans, and ſet vppon them valiantly, killing fiftie Spaniardes, and recouering all the golde whiche they had taken from him. The others ſaued them ſelues by running away, beyng well charged with blowes and wounded.

Not long after, diuers of the Spaniſhe returne againſt the ſaide Cacik, and diſcomfite him with an infinite number of his people. Thoſe which were not ſlayne, they put them to the ordinarie bondage: in ſuch ſort, as that there is not at this day, ney-

cher track nor token, that there hath bin liuing there eyther people, or so much as one man alone borne of woman within thirtie leagues of the lande, which was before notably peopled and gouerned by diuers Lordes. There is no reconing able to be made of the murders which this caitiffe with his companie committed in these realmes which he so dispeopled.

Of the prouince of Nicaragua.

The yeere a thousande, fiue hundred, twentie and two, or twentie three, this tyraunt went farder into the lande: to bring vnder his yoke the most fertile prouince of Nicaragua, & so in thither hee entred in an euill houre. There is no man which is able worthely and sufficiently to speake of the fertiltie, healthsomenesse, prosperitie, and frequencie, of those nations that there were.

It was a thing wonderfull to beholde, howe well it was peopled, hauing townes of three or foure leagues in length, full of maruilous fruites, which fruites were also the cause of the frequencie of the people. These people, for as muche as the countrey was flatte and leuell, hauing no hilles where any might hide them, and for that it was so pleasant and delectable, that the native inhabitauntes coulde not abandon it but with great heart griefe and difficultie, for which cause they the rather endured and suffered grieuous persecutions, supporting as muche as they coulde, the tyrannies and seruitudes, inflicted by the Spanishe. Also for that by their nature they were verye softe natured and peaceable people, these (I say) this tyraunt with his mates made to endure (that which hee had vsed also to doe to destroy likewise other realmes) so many dammages, so many murders, so many cruelties, so many slaueries and iniquities, that there is no humane tongue is able to discipher them. He sent fiftie horsemen, and caused to slay all the people of this prouince, (which is greater then the countye of Rossillon) with the swoorde: in such sort, as that he left aliue, nor man, nor woman, nor olde, nor

young

young for the leaſt cauſe in the world: as if they came not incontinent at his commaunde: or if they did not bring him ſo many load of Mahis, which ſignifieth in that country bread corne: or if they did not bring him ſo many Indians to ſerue him and others of his company: for the countrey lay leuell, as was ſayde, and no creature coulde eſcape his horſes and diueliſhe rage.

He ſent Spaniardes to make out rodes, that is to ſay, to go a thieuing into other prouinces: and gaue leaue to thoſe rouers, to carrie with them as many Indians of this peaceable people as they liſted, and that they ſhoulde ſerue them, whome they put to the chayne, to the ende they ſhoulde not giue ouer the burdens of three or foureſcore poundes weight, wherewith they loded them, whereof it came to paſſe oftentimes that of foure thouſand Indians, there returned not home to their houſen ſixe on liue: but euen fell downe ſtarke dead in the high way: and when any were ſo wearie that they coulde march no farther for the lieaſt of their burdens, or that ſome of them fell ſicke, or fainted for hunger or thyrſt, becauſe it ſhould not neede to ſtande ſo long as to vnlocke the chaine, and to make the ſpeedier diſpatch, hee cut off the head from ỹ ſhoulders, and ſo the head tumbled downe one way, and the bodie another. Now conſider with your ſelues, what the other poore ſoules might thinke the whiles. Certainely whē as he vſed to ſpeede out ſuch voiages, ỹ Indians knowing ỹ none in a maner euer returned home again, at parting one frō another they would weep and ſigh, ſaying: ſuch waies are ỹ ſame where as we were wont to ſerue ỹ chriſtians, & howbeit we traueiled ſore there: yet that notwithſtanding we came home again to our houſen, our wiues and our children: but nowe wee goe without hope euer to returne againe to ſee thē, & to liue together with them.

At a time when he woulde make a newe ſharing forth of the Indians, becauſe his pleaſure was ſuch, yea men ſay that it was in deede to ridde the Indians, as thoſe to whome hee meant no good at all, but to giue them away to whome he ſawe good: hee was the cauſe that the Indians ſowed not their groundes one whole yeeres continuance.

So as nowe, when they wanted bread, the Spaniards tooke away from the Indians their Mahis, which they had in ſtore for prouiſion, to nouriſhe them and their children: whereby there dyed of famine, more then twentie or thirtie thouſande ſoules. And it came to paſſe, that a woman fallen madde with the famin, ſlue her ſonne to eate him.

Foraſmuch as euery townеſhippe, and all other places inhabited that the Spaniardes had in their ſubiection, was none other then a very garden of pleaſure (as hath bin ſayd) they kept them ſelues euery one forſooth in the place eſcheated to him in partition (or as they vſe to ſpeake) giuen him in commaund, and did their affayres, nouriſhing themſelues with the goods and prouiſions of the poore Indians. In this wiſe did they take the landes and inheritaunces perticuler wherewith they ſuſtayned themſelues, ſo as the Spaniardes kept in their owne houſes, all the Indians, Lords, old men, women, and children, cauſing them to ſerue them day and night without reſt, euen to the infantes as ſoone as they coulde but goe, to put them to the greateſt thing they were able to doe: yea and to greater thinges then they were able to doe. And thus haue they conſumed and aboliſhed, and doe yet euery day vnto this preſent, conſume and aboliſh the few remayning behind, not permitting thē to retayn houſe nor ought els that is their owne. Wherein they may vaunt to haue ſurmounted them ſelues, in their owne iniquities and vnrighteouſneſſes by them wrought in Hiſpaniola.

They haue diſcomfited and oppreſſed in this prouince a great number of people, and haſtened their death in cauſing them to beare boordes and tymber vnto the hauen thirtie leagues diſtance, to make ſhippes with: and ſent them to goe ſeeke honnie and waxe amidſt the mountaines, where the Tigres deuoured them: Yea they haue laden women with childe, and women new deliuered or lying in, with burdens enough for beaſts.

The greateſt plague whiche hath moſt diſpeopled this prouince, hath beene the licence which the gouernour gaue to the Spaniardes, to demaunde or exact of the Cacikes and Lordes of the countrey ſlaues. They did giue them euery foure or fiue monethes, or as often times as euery one coulde obtayne licence

of

of the gouernour fiftie ſlaues : with threatninges, that if they gaue them not, they woulde burne them aliue, or cauſe them to bee eaten with dogges.

Nowe ordinarily the Indians doe not keepe ſlaues, and it is muche if one Cacike doe keepe two, three, or foure: Wherefore to ſerue this turne, they went to theyr ſubiectes, and tooke firſt all the Orphelins, and afterwards they exacted of him that had two children one, and of him that had three, two: and in this maner was the Cacike fayne to furniſhe ſtill to the number that the tyrane impoſed, with the great weeping and crying of the people: for they are people that doe loue (as it ſeemeth) tenderly their children. And for becauſe that this was done continually, they diſpeopled from the yeere 23. vnto the yeere 33. all this realme. For there went for ſixe or ſeuen yeeres ſpace, fiue or ſixe ſhippes at a time, carrying foorth great numbers of thoſe Indians, for to ſell them for ſlaues at Ioanama and Peru: where they all dyed not long after. For it is a thing prooued and experimented a thouſande times, that when the Indians are tranſported from their naturall countrey, they ſoone ende their liues: beſides that theſe giue them not their ſuſtenance, neyther yet diminiſh they of their toyle, as neyther doe they buy them for ought elſe but to toyle. They haue by this maner of doing drawen out of this prouince of the Indies, whome they haue made ſlaues, being as free borne as I am, more then fiue hundreth thouſande ſoules. And by the diueliſhe warres which the Spaniſhe haue made on them, and the hidious thraledome that they haue laid vpon them, they haue brought to their deaths, other fiftie or threeſcore thouſande perſons, and doe yet dayly make hauocke of them at this preſent. Al theſe ſlaughters haue been accompliſhed within the ſpace of fourteene yeeres. There may be left at this day in all this prouinces of Nicaragua, the number of a foure or fiue thouſande perſons, whiche they alſo cauſe to die as yet euery day, through bondages and oppreſſions ordinarily and perſonall, hauing bin the countrey the moſt peopled in the worlde, as I haue already ſaide.

Of newe Spayne.

IN the yeere one thousande, fiue hundred and seuenteene, was newe Spaine discouered: at the discouerie whereof were committed great disorders and slaughters of the Indians, by those which had the doing of that exployt. The yeere a thousande, fiue hundred, and eyghteene, there went Spanish Christians (as they terme them selues,) to rob and slay, notwithstanding that they sayde they went to people the countrey. Sithence that yere, a thousande, fiue hundred, & eyghteen, vnto this present the yeere a thousande, fiue hundreth, fourtie two, the vniust dealings, the violencie, and the tyrannies which the Spaniardes haue wrought against the Indians, are mounted to the highest degree of extremitie: those selfe same Spaniardes, hauing thorowly lost the feare of God, and of the king, and forgotten themselues. For the discomfitures, cruelties, slaughters, spoyles, the destructions of Cities, pillages, violences, and tyrannies which they haue made in so many realms, and so great, hath bin such & so horrible, that all ẏ things which we haue spokẽ of, are nothing in comparison of those which haue bin done and executed frõ the yere 1518. vnto the yere 1542. & as yet at this time, this moneth current of Septẽber, are in doing & cõmitting ẏ most grieuousest, & the most abominablest of al: in such sort ẏ the rule whiche we set down before is verified: That is, that from the beginning they haue alwaies proceeded frõ euil to worse, & haue gone beyond thẽselues in ẏ most greatest disorders & diuelish doings.

In such wise, as that since the first entring into new Spaine, ẅ was on the eight day of April, in ẏ 18. yeere, vnto ẏ 13. yeere, which make 12. yeeres complete: the slaughters & the destructions haue neuer ceased, which the bloodie and cruel handes of ẏ Spaniardes haue continually executed in 400. and 50. leagues of land or there about in cõpasse, roũd about Mexicõ, & the neighbour regions round about, such as the which might contayne 4. or 5. great realmes, as great & a great deale farre fertiler then is Spain. All this countrey was more peopled with inhabitantes,

then

then Toledo, and Seuill, and Ualadolyd, and Sauagoce, with Barcelona. For that there hath not beene commonly in thoſe cities, nor neuer were ſuch a worlde of people, when they haue beene peopled with the moſt, as there was then in the ſayde countrey, which contayneth in the whole compaſſe more then one thouſande eyght hundred leagues: during the time of the aboue mentioned twelue yeeres, the Spaniardes haue ſlaine & done to death in the ſayd hundred & fiftie leagues of land what men, what women, what young and litle children, more then foure millions of ſoules, with the dint of the ſwoorde and ſpeare, & by fire, during (I ſay) the conqueſts (as they call them) but rather in deede during the routes of barbarous tyrantes, ſuche as are condemned not onely by the law of God, but alſo by all laws of man, and are worſer then thoſe which are done by the Turke to deſtroy the church of Chriſt. Neyther yet doe I here compriſe thoſe, whom they haue ſlayne, and do ſlay as yet euery day, in the aforeſaid ſlauerie and oppreſſion ordinary.

There is no tongue, ſkill, knowledge, nor induſtrie of man, which is able to recount the particularities of the dreadfull doo-ings, which theſe arrand enemies, yea deadly enemies of mankinde haue put in vre generally throughout and in diuers parts, and at diuers times within the ſaide compaſſe of grounde, ſpecially ſome of the deedes done, becauſe of their circumſtances whiche make them become the more haynous, can not be well as it ought to be diſciphred by any diligence, leaſure, or quoting what ſoeuer that may be thereto employed. Howebeit I will rehearſe ſome things of certayne parties, but vnder proteſtation, & as if I were ſworne ſolemnly to tell the trueth, that is, that I doe beleeue that I ſhal not when I haue all done, touch one only point of a thouſande.

Of newe Spaine in particular.

Amongſt other murderers & maſſacres they committed this one which I am now to ſpeak of, in a great citie more thē of a thirtie

thousande householdes, which is called Tholula : that is, that, comming before them the Lords of the countrey and places nere adioyning, and first and formost the Priestes with their chiefe high priest in procession, to receiue the Spaniardes with great solemnitie and reuerence, so conducting them in the middest of them, towardes their lodgings in the citie, in the housen and place of the Lorde, or other principall Lordes of the Citie : the Spaniardes aduised with themselues to make a massacre, or a chastise (as they speake) to the ende, to raise and plant a dread of their cruelties in euery corner of all that countrey.

Nowe this hath been alwayes their customary maner of doyng, in euery the regions which they haue entred into, to execute incontinent vpon their first arriuall, some notable cruell butcherie, to the ende, that those poore and innocent lambes should tremble for feare whiche they should haue of them: in this wise they sent first to sommon all the Lordes and Noble men of the citie, and of all the places subiect vnto the same citie: who so soone as they came to speake with the captayne of the Spaniardes, were incontinent apprehended before that anye bodye might perceiue the matter, to bee able therevppon to beare tydinges thereof vnto others. Then were demaunded of them fiue or sixe thousande Indians, to carry the loadings and carriages of the Spaniardes: which Indians came forth with, and were bestowed into the base courtes of the Housen. It was a pitifull case to see these poore folke, what time they made them redy to beare the carriages of the Spaniarde. They come all naked, onely their secrete partes couered, hauing euery one vpon their shoulder a nette with a small deale of victuall: they bowe them selues euery one, and hold their backes cowred down like a sort of silly lambes, presenting them selues to the swords, and thus being all assembled in the base court together with others, one part of the Spanishe all armed, bestowe them selues at the gates to hemme them in, whiles the rest put these poore sheepe to the edge of the swoorde and the speares, in such sort, that there coulde not scape away one onely person, but that hee was cruelly put to death: sauing that after a twis or three dayes, you might haue seene come forth sundry all couered with blood whi-

che had hid and ſaued them ſelues vnder the dead bodies of their fellowes, and nowe preſenting them ſelues before the Spaniardes, aſking them mercy and the ſauing of their liues: they founde in them no pitie, nor compaſſion any whit at all, but were all hewed in peeces.

All the Lordes whiche were aboue and vnderneath, were all bounde, the Captayne commaunding them to bee brent quicke being bounde vnto ſtakes pitched into the grounde. Howebeit one Lorde, which might bee peraduenture the principall and king of the countrey ſaued him ſelfe, and caſt him ſelfe with thirtie or fourtie other menne into a temple thereby, which was as good vnto them as a forte, whiche they call in their language, qewe: and there he defended him ſelfe a good part of the day. But the Spaniards, whoſe handes nothing can eſcape ſpecially armed for the warre, caſt fire on the temple, and burned all thoſe which were within. Who caſt out theſe voyces and cries, O yee euill men! O ye euill men! What diſpleaſure haue wee done you? why doe yee ſlay vs? Goe, Goe you ſhall come at Mexico: where our Soueraigne Lorde Motenſuma ſhall take vengeance of you. It is reported that as the Spaniardes played this gay play in the baſe court, putting to the edge of the ſword a fiue or ſixe thouſand men, their captaine hauing his hearte all in a Jollitie ſang.

Mira Nero de Tarpeya á Roma como ſe ardias
Gritos, dan ninos, y vieios: y el de nada ſe dolia:

That is to ſay,

Fro Tarpey top, dan Nero gan ſee Roome all flaming brenne,
Both young and old cry out, the whiles his heart did neuer yerne.

They made alſo another great butcherie in the Citie of Tapeaca: whiche was greater and of more number of houſe-

holdes, and moꝛe people inhabiting then in the citie afoꝛe ſayde. They ſlue heꝛe with the ſharpe of the ſwoꝛd, an infinite number of people, with great circũſtances & particularities of cruelties.

From Cholula they went to Mexico. The king Motenſuma ſent to meete them a thouſande of preſentes, and Loꝛdes, and people, making ioy and mirth by the way.

And at the entry of the cawſie of Mexico, whiche reacheth two leagues in length, he ſent alſo his bꝛother, accompanied with a great number of honoꝛable Loꝛdes, bearing with them rich preſents, gold, ſiluer, & apparell: & at the barres of the citie, the king in perſon with all his great court, came to receiue them, beeing carried in a lighter of golde, and them accompanied vnto the palace which hee had cauſed to be made ready foꝛ them.

The ſelfe ſame very day, as ſome haue tolde me, the which were then and there preſent, they tooke by a certayne diſſimulation the great king Motenſuma, as he miſtruſted nothing, and oꝛdained foureſcoꝛe men to keepe him. Afterwardes, they put giues on his feete. But letting all this paſſe, in the which there were notable poyntes to ſpeake of, I will onely rehearſe one which was ſinguler wꝛought by thoſe tirantes. The Captaine general of the Spaniſhe was gone to the ſea poꝛte to take another Spaniſhe Captayne, which came againſt in warre: and hauing lefte another vnder captayne in his roome, with a fewe moꝛe then an hundꝛeth men to keepe the ſayde king Motenſuma: theſe ſame aduiſed with them ſelues to doe another thing wooꝛthy the note, to the ende, to encreaſe and augment moꝛe and moꝛe in all thoſe regions, the awe which they had of them: a pꝛactiſe and ſtratageme which (as I ſayde befoꝛe) they haue often vſed. All this meane while the Indians, the common people, and the Loꝛdes of the whole Citie ſought none other thing, ſaue onely to ſhewe pleaſure and paſtime to their Loꝛde which was deteyned pꝛiſoner. And amongeſt other ſpoꝛtes which they made him: were their friſkes and daunces whiche they made in the euening thoroweout all the high ſtreetes and markette places, which daunces, they call Mitotes, as in the iles they call them Areytos.

The do weare in theſe friſkes all their riche furniture, their beſt goꝛgious attyꝛe, and their iewels, deſpiſing them ſelues to liking

lking in all thinges, for theſe are the greateſt ſignes of ioy and feſtiuitie that they doe vſe. Nowe at this time, the nobilitie alſo, and princes of the blood royall, eche one after his degree kept their reuels and feaſtes at the neereſt vnto the houſe where was deteyned priſoner their ſoueraigne. Joyning vnto the walles of the ſaide palace, were there moze then two thouſande youthes, Lordes children, which were the flower of the nobilitie of all the ſtate of Motenſuma. Againſt thoſe made out the captayne of the Spaniardes with a troupe of ſouldiers, ſending the others vnto other places of the citie where the friſks and daunces were kept, and all making wiſe onely to go ſee them. The captayne had giuen in charge, that at a certayne appointed houre, they ſhould all caſt them vpon thoſe dauncers, and hee himſelf for his own part, caſting himſelfe into the thronge, the Indians miſtruſting nothing, but onely intending their diſport, hee ſaith: Sayntiago, let vs amongſt them, & vpon thē firs. And thus their arming ſwords in their fiſtes, they began to rip theſe bodies naked and delicate, and to ſhed that blood gentle and noble, in ſuch ſort, as that they left not a man aliue. The others perforined the like in other places, a thing which ſet all thoſe realmes and nations in a fright & extreme deſperation, and whereof as long as the world ſhall laſt, they will neuer lin (if themſelues do not decay) to lament, and recorde in their Areytos & ſolemne meetings, as in rime theſe calamities, and the ſpoile of the ſpring of their ancient nobilitie, of the which they are wont to vaunt thēſelues & glory very much.

The Indians ſeeing ſo great an iniquitie, and a crueltie neuer heard of the like, made againſt ſo many innocentes without any cauſe: ſpecially hauing put vp quietly the impriſonment & that no leſſe wrongfull of their ſoueraigne Lorde, who alſo had commaunded them not to make warre vpon the Spaniardes: all the citie put them ſelues in armes, wherupon the Spaniards being aſſaulted and many of them hurt, with much a do might they eſcape, but ſet a dagger on the cheſt of the breſt of the priſoner Motenſuma to kill him, if he laied not him ſelfe out at a gallery or windowe, to cōmand the Indians that they ſhould not beſet the houſe, & they ſhould keepe thē quiet. The Indians taking no care as then of obeying, aduiſed thē to chuſe a L. & captayn from

amongst them selues to conduct their battals. And for as much as the Captayn which was gone to the hauen, was returned victorious, leading with him more Spaniardes then he had carried foorth, and for that hee was nowe neere at hande, the combate ceased about a three or foure dayes, vntill such time as hee was entred the towne.

Then the Indians assembled an infinite number of people out of all the countrey, and skirmished in such wise, and so long a season, that the Spanish thought they should al die on the place, wherefore they deliberated to abandon the citie for one night. That which their disseighu being knowen to the Indians, they slewe of them a great number vppon the bridges of the Marshes in a warre most rightfull, and most lawfull for the causes most righteous which they had as hath been saide: the whiche euery reasonable and true dealing man will mayneteyne for good. Soone after, the Spanishe hauing realted them selues, the combat with the Citie renewed, where the Spaniardes made an horrible and ghastly butcherie of the Indians, and slue an infinite of people, and brent aliue the great Lords.

After these great and abhominable tyrannies committed in the Citie of Mexico, and in other cities, and the countrey tenne, fifteene, and twentie leagues compasse of Mexico: this tyrannie and pestilence aduaunced it selfe forwarde, to waste also, infect, and lay desolate the prouince of Panuco. It was a thing to bee wondered at of the worlde, of people that there were, and the spoyles and slaughters there done. Afterwarde they wasted also after the selfe maner, all the prouince of Tuttepeke, and the prouince of Ipelingo, and the prouince of Columa: eche prouince conteyning more grounde then the realme of Leon & of Castile. It shoulde bee a thing very difficulte, yea, impossible to speake or recount the discomfitures, the slaughters, and the cruelties, which they there committed; and woulde cause a great remorse vnto the hearers.

Here is to be noted, that the title wherewith they entred, and beganne to make hauocke of all these harmelesse and silly Indians, and haue dispeopled that countrey, which shoulde haue caused a great reioycing to all those which shoulde bee in trueth

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Chriſtians, beyng ſo peopled as they were: was to ſay that they ſhoulde come and put them ſelues in ſubiection, to ſerue the king of Spain, otherwiſe that they woulde kill them, or make them ſlaues. And thoſe which came not incontinent to ſatiſfie their demaundes ſo vniuſt, and did not put them ſelues into the handes of men ſo vniuſt, cruell, and beaſtly, they called them rebelles, as thoſe which had lift vp them ſelues agaynſt the kinges Maieſtie, and for ſuch they accuſed them to the king our ſoueraigne Lorde: the blinde vnderſtandings of thoſe which gouerned the Indians, beeing not able to comprehende nor perceyue this much, which in their lawes is more cleerely taught then any other principle of Lawe, that is, that none can bee reputed a rebell, if firſt hee be not a ſubiect. Nowe let Chriſtians, and thoſe which haue any perceyuerance conſider with them ſelues, if ſuche caſes can prepare and informe the mindes of any nations whatſoeuer liuing in their countrey in aſſurance, and not thinking to owe any thing to any perſon, hauing their owne naturall liege Lordes whom they ſerue and obey, ſuddenly to come and tell them tydings:

Put you vnder the obeyſance of a king a ſtranger, whom ye neuer ſawe, nor neuer hearde of before: other wiſe knowe yee that wee will rent yee incontinent all to peeces, ſpecially when it is knowen by experience that they doe it in deede as ſoone as it is but ſayde. And that which is farre more frightfull, they take thoſe, which doe yeelde them ſelues to obey, to put them into a moſte grieuous bondage, in the whiche there are toyles incredible, and tormentes greater and of longer continuance then thoſe ſame of them which are executed by the ſwoorde, for in the ende they periſhe, they, their wiues, their children, and their whole generation.

And put the caſe, that through the threates and frightes aforeſaide, thoſe peoples, or any others whoſoeuer doe come to obey and acknowledge the dominion of a ſtraunger king: doe not theſe blunderers ſee, being altogether benummed with ambition and deuelish couetouſnes, that they winne not a mite of right, foraſmuche as ſo it is, that it is cauſed vpon frightes and terrours which might bee able to ſhake men the conſtanteſt and

the best aduised: and that by the lawes of nature, man, and God, it hath no more force then a handfull of winde, to make any thing auaylable to any purpose whatsoeuer, sauing the punishment and obligation which abideth them in the bottom of hel. I passe ouer the losses and dammages which they doe to the king, when as they spoyle his realmes, and bring to nought (as much as in them lyeth) all the right which they haue in the Indies.

These are nowe the seruices, whiche the Spaniardes haue done, and as yet doe at this houre vnto the aforesaide kinges, and soueraigne Lords, vnder the colour of this gallant title, so rightfull, and so smoothly garnished.

This Captayne tyraunt, with this gorgeous and pretended title, dispatched two other Captaynes, as bery tyrauntes and farre more cruell, and lesse pitifull then him selfe, into greate realmes most flourishing, and most fertile, and full of people, to witte, the realme of Guatimala, which lieth to the seawarde on the South side, and the same of Naco, and Honduras, otherwise called Guaymura, which coasteth on the sea on the North side, confronting and confining the one with the other, three hundred leagues distaunce from Mexico. Hee sent the one by land, and the other by sea: both the one and the other carried with them a maynie of trowpes to serue on horsebacke and a foote.

I say the trueth, that of the mischieues which these two haue wrought, and principally hee whiche went to Guatimala (for that other dyed soone after of an euill death,) there might be made a great booke, of so many villanies, of so manie slaughters, so many desolations, and of so many outrages and brutishe vniustices, as were able to affright the age present and to come.

For certayne this man surpassed all the others, present, and gone before, in quantitie and in number, as well for the abominations whiche hee committed, as for the peoples and countreys whiche he layde waste and desert. All the which thinges were infinite.

Hee which went by sea, committed exceeding pillinges, cruelties, & disorders amongst the people on the sea coast: before whō some comming with presents from the realme of Yucatane whi-

che

che is the high way to ỹ aforeſaid realme of Naco & Guaimura, towards the which they went: when he came vnto them he ſente captaynes, & a many of men of armes throughy all that land, whiche went ſacking, ſlaughtering, & deſtroying as many people as there were to be foũd, & principally one, who with three hundred more, hauing mutined and rebelled, and ſetting himſelfe into the countrey towardes Guatimala, went ſpoyling and burning all the towns that he found, in killing and robbing the people inhabitants of them. That which he did of a ſet purpoſe, in more then an hundred and twentie leagues of the land, to the end, that if any had ſent after him, thoſe which ſhould come, ſhoulde finde the countrey diſpeopled and debelled, and that they were ſo ſlain of the Indians, in reuenge of the dammages and ſpoiles by them made. After whome haue ſucceeded ſundry others moſt cruell tyrantes, the which with their ſlaughters and dreadful cruelties, and by bringing the Indians into thraldome, whom afterwards they ſoulde vnto thoſe who carried them with their ſhippings of wine, garments, and other things, and by reaſon of the tyrannicall ſeruitude ordinary, ſince the yeere a thouſande, fiue hundred, twentie foure, vntill the yeere 1535. haue layd waſte thoſe ſame prouinces and realmes of Naco and Honduras, the which reſẽbled a paradiſe of pleaſures: and were more peopled, frequented, and inhabited, then any countrey of the worlde: and nowe of late we comming a long thereby, haue ſeene them ſo diſpeopled and deſtroied, that who ſo ſhould ſee them, his heart would cleaue for ſorrowe, ware he neuer ſo flintie.

They haue ſlaine within theſe eleuen yeeres, more then two Millions of ſoules, hauing not left in more then an hundreth leagues of the countrey ſquare, but two thouſande perſons, whome they ſlay as yet dayly in the ſayde ordinarie bondage.

Nowe let vs returne to write of the great tyraunt and Captayne, which went to Guatimala, (who, as hath been ſayde, exceeded all the aforepaſſed, and is comparable to all thoſe, which are at this day) from the prouinces neere to Mexico, (according as him ſelfe wrote in a letter to the principall tyraunt whiche had ſente him) diſtaunte from the realme of Guatimala 400. leagues, (keeping ỹ way by him traced) & as he went, ſlu, robbed,

there was no such matter.

There fell in horses once or twise: for the Spaniardes afterwardes coulde beware of them. But nowe to auenge them, they made a law, that as many Indians as might be taken aliue, shoulde bee slong into the same pittes. Hereuppon they cast in women with child, and women newe deliuered of childbirth, and olde folke as many as they coulde come by, vntyll that the ditches were filled vp. It was a lamentable thing to beholde the women with their children stabbed with these pickes. All besides, they slue with thrust of speares, and edge of swoorde. They cast of them also to feshe fraunching dogges, which tare them and deuoured them. They brent a Lord at a great fire of quicke flames: saying, they woulde herein doe him honour. And they persisted in these butcheries so vnnaturall, about seuen yeeres, from the yeere 24. vntill the yeere 31. Let any esteeme, what may bee the number of people: whome they might haue slayne.

Amongst an infinite of horrible actes which this cursed tyraunt did in this realme with his bandes of souldiers, (for his vnder captaynes were no lesse mischieuous and insensate then himselfe, and withall likewise those that were vnder them again to serue their turne,) this one was notable: That where as in the prouince of Cuzcatan, where is at this houre, or neere there aboutes the citie of Saint Sauiour, a countrey very fertile with all the sea coaste on the Southe, contayning fourtie or fiftie leagues: and likewise in the Citie of Cuscatan the mother Citie of the prouince, there had been made him a very great entertaynement, of more then twentie or thirtie thousande Indians attending him, all laden with poultrie and other victuals: this Captayne arriuing, and hauing receiued the presentes, hee commaunded that euery one of the Spaniardes shoulde take of this great number of people, such as shoulde please him, to serue him all the time that they shoulde make their abode there, and that they shoulde constrayne them to beare for them, of their carriage all that should bee needefull.

Euery man tooke vnto him other an hundred, or fiftie, or as many

many as it ſeemed ſuffiſed him to bee well ſerued. Theſe poore lambelikeinnocentes ſerued the Spaniards with all their power, that there wanted nothing, vnleſſe they ſhoulde doe vnto them godly honour. Meane while this captayne demaunded of the Lordes very much golde: for they were principally commen for that purpoſe.

The Indians anſwered that they were ready to giue them all the golde they had: and layed together a great furniture of hatchets of copper and gylt, where with they ſerue their owne turnes, the ſame reſembling golde, as in deede it hath in it ſome litle deale. The Captayne cauſeth to put to the touch: and as he ſawe it was copper, hee ſayde to the Spaniardes, nowe the diuell take ſuch a countrey: let vs bee gone hence, ſeeing here is no golde heere: and euery man put the Indians whiche hee hath retayned to ſerue him, to the hotte irons, and ſo to marke them for ſlaues.

That which they did, branding with the kinges marke all that they might. I ſawe the ſonne him ſelfe of the principall Lorde of this citie, to bee ſo branded. The Indians which eſcaped, with all other of the Countrey ſeeing all the miſchiefes of the Spaniſhe, beganne to aſſemble, and put them ſelues in armes: wherevppon the Spaniardes wroght great diſcomfitures and ſlaughters, returning to Guatimala where they builded a citie, the which God of a iuſt iudgement hath renuerſed with three ouerwhelmings falling all three together: the one was with water, the other with earth, and the thirde with ſtones, of the bigneſſe of tenne or twentie oxen. By ſuche like meanes all the Lordes and the men that were able to beare armes being ſlayne: thoſe which remayned, were reduced into the diaboli-call ſeruitude aforeſaide, being made tributary ſlaues or villayns regardant, but giuing for their tribute ſonnes and daughters, for they will haue none other kind of bondmen. And ſo the Spaniards ſending whole ſhips laden with them to Peru to ſell thē, w̄ their other ſlaughters, haue deſtroyed & laide deſert an whole

Realme of an hundred leagues ſquare or aboue, a countrey the moſt bleſſeful, and peopled the moſt that might be in the worlde.

For the tyraunt him ſelfe wrote hereof, that it was more peopled then Mexico: and herein hee ſayde the trueth. Hee hath done to death, with his conſortes and confrayryes, more then foure or fiue Millions of ſoules in fifteen or ſixteen yeeres ſpace, from the yeere twentie foure, vnto the fourtieth yeere: and yet at this houre they ſlay and deſtroy thoſe that remayne.

This tyraunt had a cuſtome, when as hee went to make warre vpon any Citie or Prouince: to carrie thither of the Indians alreadie vnder yoked, as many as hee coulde, to make warre vpon the other Indians: and as hee gaue vnto a ten or twentie thouſande men which he ledde along no ſuſtenaunce, he allowed them to eate the Indians whiche they tooke: And ſo by this meanes hee had in his campe an ordinarie ſhambles of mans fleſhe, where, in his preſence they killed and roaſted children. They killed men, onely to haue off from them their handes and their feete, which partes they helde to be the dayntieſt morcels. When the nations of other countreys vnderſtoode of all thoſe vnnaturall doings, they could not tel what to do for frightfulneſſe.

Hee was the death of an infinite ſorte of the Indians in making of ſhippes, the which hee carried from the North ſea vnto the South, which are an hundred and thirtie leagues. He tranſported after this rate great ſtore of artillerie, which he loded vpon the ſhoulders of theſe poore folke going naked: whereby I haue ſeene very many fall downe in the high way, by reaſon of their great burdens.

Hee vndid whole houſholdes, by taking from the men their wiues and daughters: the which afterwardes hee diſperſed in gyftes to his marriners and ſouldiers to pleaſe them withall, who led them along with them in their nauies. He ſtuffed all the ſhippes with Indians, where they dyed for thyrſt and hungar. Certaynely if I ſhoulde ſtande to tell the particularities of theſe cruelties: I ſhoulde make a great booke thereof, whiche ſhoulde aſtoniſhe the worlde. Hee made two nauies, eyther of

a great number of ſhippes, with the which hee conſumed as with fire and lightning flaſhing from heauen all thoſe peoples: O howe many poore children hath hee made fatherleſſe Orphans, howe many men and women widowers and widowes, bereeuing thē alſo of their childrē! How many adulteries, whoredoms and rapes, hath he been the cauſe of! How many hath he of free made villanyes: Howe many anguiſhes and calamities by him haue nombers ſuffered: Howe many hath hee cauſed to ſhedde teares, ſighes and groninges: Of how many deſolations hath he been the occaſion in this life, and the meanes for others to fall into euerlaſting damnation in the life to come, not onely of the Indians which are innumerable, but of the miſerable Spaniardes, with whoſe ayde he hath ſerued himſelfe in villanies ſo exceſſiue, and ſinnes ſo enormous, and abominations ſo execrable: I wiſhe in God that hee had taken pitie of him: and that hee had been pleaſed in ſo euill an ende as he ſent him.

Of newe Spaine, and Panuco, and Xaliſco.

After the exceeding crueltics and ſlaughters aforeſayd, and the others whiche I haue omitted, whiche haue been executed in the prouinces of newe Spayne and Panuco: there came to Panuco an other tyraunt, cruell, and vnbrideled, in the yeere 1525. Who in committing very many crueltics, and in branding many for ſlaues, after the maner aforeſayde which were all free, and in ſending very many ſhippes laden to Cuba, and Hiſpaniola, where they might beſt make Marchandiſe of them, hee atchieued the deſolation of this prouince.

And it hath come to paſſe in his tyme, that there hath been giuen for one Mare, eyght hundred Indians ſoules partakers of reaſon. And this man from this roome was promoted to bee preſident of Mexico, and of all the prouince of new Spaine, and there were promoted with him other tyrauntes, to the offices of Auditorſhippes: in the which dignities they committed ſo many vn-

vngracious turnes, so manie sinnes, so many cruelties, robberies, and abhominations, that a man can not beleeue them to be such. And they set forwarde also this countrey into so extreme a desolation, that if God had not kept them by meanes of the resistance of the religious men of Saint Francis order, and if that there had not been prouided with all speede a court of audience, and the kings counsayle in those partes friende to all vertue, they had laide wast all newe Spayne, as they haue done the Ile of Hispaniola.

There was a man, amongst those of the company of this captayne, who to the end to enclose a garde of his, w a wal: kept in his workes eight thousande Indians, without paying them ought, nor giuing them to eate, in maner that they dyed, falling down suddēly, & he neuer tooke the more thought for the matter.

After that the chiefe Captayne which I spake of, had finished the laying waste of Panuco, and that hee vnderstoode the newes of the comming of the kinges court of Audience: hee aduised with him selfe to proceede farther into the innermoste partes of the realme, to search where hee might tyrannize at his ease, and drewe by force out of the prouince of Mexico 15. or 20. Millions of men, to the ende, that they shoulde carrie the loades and carriages of the Spaniardes whiche went with him, of whom there neuer returned agayne two hundred, the others being dead on the high wayes.

Hee came at the prouince of Mechuacam, which is distant from Mexico fourtie leagues, a region as blissefull and full of inhabitauntes, as is that of Mexico. The king and Lorde of the countrey went to receiue him with an infinite companie of people, which did vnto them a thousande seruices and curtisies. Hee apprehended him by and by, for that hee had the hynte to be very rich of gold and siluer: and to the ende, that hee shoulde giue him great treasures, hee beganne to giue him the torments, and put him in a payre of stockes by the feete, his body stretched out, and his handes bounde to a stake, hee maketh a flashing fire against his feete, and there a boy with a basting sprinkle soked in oyle in his hande stoode and basted them a litle and a litle, to the ende to well roaste the skynne. There was in one side of him a cruell man, the whiche with a crossebowe bente, aymed

ryght at his heart, on the other ſide an other which helde a dogge ſnarling, and leaping vp as to renne vppon him, which in leſſe then the tyme of a Credo, had beene able to haue torne him in pieces: and thus they tormented him, to the ende hee ſhoulde diſcouer the treaſures which they deſired, vntyll ſuche tyme as a religious man of Saint Frauncis order tooke him away from them, notwithſtanding that hee dyed of the ſame tormentes.

They tormented and ſlue of this faſhion very many of the Lordes and Cacikes in theſe Prouinces: to the ende that they ſhoulde giue them gold and ſiluer.

At the ſame time a certayne tyrant going in viſitation to viſite the powches, and to robbe the godes of the Indians, more then for any care hee had of theyr ſoules, founde, that certayne Indians had hid their Idolles, as thoſe which had neuer been better inſtructed by ẏ curſed Spaniards of any better god, he apprehended and detayned priſoners the Lordes, vntyll ſuche time as that they woulde giue them their Idolles: Suppoſing all this while they had beene of golde or of ſiluer: Howebeit they were not ſo, wherefore hee chaſtiſed them cruelly and vniuſtly.

But to the ende hee woulde not remayne fruſtrate of his intent, which was to ſpoyle, hee conſtrayned the Cacikes to redeeme their ſayde Idolles, and they redeemed them for ſuch gold & ſiluer as they coulde find, to the ende, to worſhip them for Gods, as they had bin wont to do aforetime. Theſe be the examples & deedes which theſe curſed Spaniardes do: and this is the honour which they purchaſe to God, amongſt the Indians.

This great tyraunt and Captayne paſſed farther from Nechuacham to the Prouince of Xaliſco, the which was all whole moſt full of people, and moſt happie. For it is one of the moſte fertilleſt and moſt admirable countrey of the Indies, whiche had borrowes containing in a maner ſeuẽ leagues. As he entred this coũtrey the L. with ẏ inhabitants, according as al ẏ Indians are accuſtomed to do, wẽt to receiue him w̃ preſẽts & ioyfulnes. Hee begã to cõmit his cruelties & miſchieuouſnes, w̃ he had learned & all the reſt had bin accuſtomed to practiſe, w̃ is to heap vp gold w̃ is their god. He burned townes, he tooke ẏ Cacikes priſonners, and gaue them torments. Hee made ſlaues all that hee tooke.

whereof there died an infinite number tyed in chaynes. The women newe deliuered of childebyrth, going laden with the stuffe of euill Christians, and being not able to beare their owne children because of trauell and hunger, were fayne to cast them from them in the wayes, whereof there dyed an infinite.

An euill Christian taking by force a young Damsell to abuse her, the mother withstoode him: and as shee woulde haue taken her away, the Spaniarde drawing his dagger or rapier, cutte off her hande, and slue the young gyrle with slashes of his weapon: because shee woulde not consent to his appetite.

Amongst manye other thinges, hee caused vniustly to bee marked for slaues, foure thousande, fiue hundred soules as free as they, men, women, and sucking babes, from of a yere and a halfe olde, vnto three or foure yeeres olde: which notwithstanding had gone before them in peace, to receiue them with an infinite number of other thinges that haue not beene set downe in writing.

Hauing atchieued the diuelishe warres innumerable, and hauing in the same committed very many slaughters, hee reduced all that countrey into the ordinary seruitude, pestilential and tyrannicall, into the which all the tyrant Spaniardes whiche are in the Indies, are accustomed, or pretende to cast those people. In the which countrey, hee consented also, and permitted his Stewardes and all others to execute tormentes neuer hearde of before, to the ende, to drawe from the Indians golde and tribute. His Stewardes slewe very many of the Indians, hanging them and burning them aliue, and casting some vnto the dogges, cutting off their feete, handes, head, and tongue, they being in peace, onely to bring them into a feare, to the ende they shoulde serue him, and giue him golde and tributes: all this knowing, and seeing this gentle tyrant, euen to come to the whippes, bastonads, blowes, with other sorts of cruelties wherewith hee vexed and oppressed them dayly.

It is sayde of him, that hee hath destroyed and burned in this realme of Xalisco, eyght hundred boroughes, whiche was the cause that the Indians being fallen desperate, and seeing those which remayned, howe they perished thus cruelly: they lift vp

themselues

themselues, and went into the mountaynes, slaying certayne Spaniardes: howe be it by good right. And afterwardes because of the wickednesses and outrages of other tyrauntes now being, which passed by that way to destroy other prouinces (that which they call discouering) many of the Indians assembled, fortifying them selues vpon certayne rockes. Upon the whiche rockes the Spanishe haue made, and yet at this present, and a freshe doe make so many cruelties, that they almost made an end of laying desolate all this great countrey, slaying an infinite number of people.

And the wretched blunderers forsaken of God, and giuen ouer into a reprobate sense, not seeing the causes most iust which the Indians haue by the lawes of nature, man, and God, to hewe them in peeces, if they had strength and munimentes, and so to cast them out of their countrey: and not seeing the wickednes of their owne cause, ouer and besids so many violents and tyrannies which they haue committed in that sort, to mooue warre a newe: they thinke, speake, and write of the victories which they haue ouer the poore Indians, leauing them in desolation, that it is GOD which giueth the same vnto them, as though their warres were atchieued rightfully: thus they reioyce, vaunt themselues, and giue thankes vnto God for their tyrannies, as did those tyrantes and theeues of whom speaketh the Prophete Zacharie, in the eleuenth chapter: verse 4. saying:

Feede the sheepe of the slaughter, they that possesse them slay them, and are not grieued, and they that sell them, say, blessed be the Lorde, for we are become rich.

Of the realme of Yucatan.

The yeere one thousande, fiue hundred, twentie and sixe, was deputed ouer the Realme of Yucatan an other captife gouernour, and that through the lies and false reports which himselfe had made vnto the king: in like maner as hath the other ti-

rants vntill this present, to the end there might bee committed vnto thee offices & charges, by means wherof they might rob at their pleasures. This realme of Yucatan was full of inhabitants: for that it was a countrie in euery respect holsome, and abounding in plentie of victuals, and of fruites more then Mexico: and singulerly exceeded for the abundance of honnie and waxe there to bee founde, more then in any quarter of the Indies, which hath beene seene vnto this present. It conteyneth about three hundred leagues compasse. The people of that countrie, were the most notable of all the Indies, as well in consideration of their policie and prudencie, as for the vprightnes of their life, verily worthie the training to the knowledge of God: amongest whome there might haue beene builded great Cities, by the Spanishe, in which they might haue liued as in an earthly Paradise, if so bee they had not made themselues vnworthie, because of their exceeding couetousnesse, harde heartednes, and heynous offences: as also vnworthie they were of other moe blessings a great many, which God had set open in these Indies. This tyrant began with three hundred men to make warre vpon these poore innocent people, which were in their houses without hurting any body: where he slue and ransacked infinite numbers. And for because the Countrie yeeldeth no golde, for if it had yeelded any, hee woulde haue consumed those same Indians, in making them to toyle in the mynes: to the ende hee might make golde of the bodies and soules of those for whome Iesus Christe suffered death, hee generally made slaues of all those whome hee slue not, and returned the ships that were come thither, vpon the blowing abrode and noyse of the selling of slaues, ful of people bartered for wine, oyle, vinegar, powdred Bacons flesh, garments, horses, and that, that euery man had neede of, according to the Captaines estimate and iudgement. Hee woulde let choose amongest an hundred or fiftie young Damosels: bartering some one of the fayrest, & of the best complexion, for a caske of wine, oyle, vinegar, or for a porke powdred. And in like maner hee woulde let choose out a young handsome stripling amongst two or three hundreth for

the aforesaide merchandize. And it hath beene seene, that a youth seeming to be ỹ sonne of some prince, hath been bartered for a Cheese, and an hundreth persons for an horse. Hee continued in these doinges from the yeere twentie sixe, vntill the yeere thirtie three, which are seuen yeeres, desolating and dispeopling those Countries, and killing the people there without pitie or mercie, vntill the time that the newes came of the riches of Peru, and that thereupon the Spaniardes hyed them thither, by occasion whereof this Diuelish tyrannie ceased for a season. A few dayes after, his men returned, to doe and commit other haynous enormities, as robberies, & wrongful imprisonments, with offences great against God: neither doe they cease as yet at this day to doe them, but haue laide desart and dispeopled all those three hundred leagues, the which were as well replenished and peopled, as hath been saide.

There is no man that can beleeue, or rehearse the cases particuler of the cruelties, which were of them committed. I wyll onely rehearse two or three, comming to my remembraunce at this instant. As these cursed Spaniards, went with their mad dogges a forraging by the tracke, and hunting out the Indian men and women: An Indian woman beeing sicke, and seeing shee coulde not escape their dogges, that they shoulde not rent her as they did others: shee tooke a corde and hanged herselfe at a beame, hauing fastened at her foote a childe shee had of a yeere olde, and shee had no sooner done: beholde these Curres, whiche come and dispatche this infante, howe beit that before it dyed, a Religious man a Fryar baptized it.

When the Spanishe parted out of this Realme, one amongest others saide, to a sonne of a Lorde of some Citie or Prouince, that hee shoulde goe with him: the boy aunswered, and sayde, hee woulde not forsake his Countrie. The Spaniarde replyed: Goe with mee, or els I will cutte off thine eares. The young Indian persisted in his first saying, that hee woulde not forsake his Countrie. The Spaniarde drawing out his dagger, cut off first one, & then his other eare.

The young man abyding by it still that hee woulde not leaue his countrey: hee mangled off also his nose, with the vppermost of his lippes: making no more scrupulositie of the matter, then if hee had giuen him but a phillip.

This damnable wretch magnified him selfe, and vaunted him of his doynges villauously vnto a reuerende religious person, saying: that hee tooke as much paynes as hee coulde, to begette the Indian women in great numbers with childe, to the ende, hee might receiue the more money for them in selling them great with childe for slaues.

In this realme, or in one of the prouinces of newe Spaine, a certayne Spaniard went one day with his dogs on hunting of venison, or els conies, and not finding game, hee minded his dogs that they should be hungrie, and tooke a little sweet Babie which hee bereaued the mother of, and cutting off from him the armes, and the legges, chopped them in small gobbettes, giuing to euery dog his liuery or part thereof, by & by after these morsels thus dispatched, hee cast also the rest of the body or the carkase to all the kenell together.

By this ye may see how great the dull heartednes of the Spaniardes is in that countrey, and howe God hath deliuered them vp into a reprobate sense: and what accoumpt they make of those same nations which are created after the image of God, and redeemed with the blood of his Christ. We shal see hereafter more notable matter.

Leauing nowe the cruelties infinite, and neuer heard of the like, which in this realme were done by those which call thē selues Christians, and such as no iudgement of man can sufficiently imagine them: I will conclude with this same: That is, that being nowe departed the realme all the diuelish tyrantes, blynded with the couetousnes of the riches of Peru, ỹ reuerend father, fryer Iames, with foure other religious of S. Frauncis, was moued in spirite to goe into this realme to pacifie them, and for to preach to them, and to win vnto Iesus Christ those which might bee remayning of the butcheries and tyrannous murders, which the Spanish had bin perpetrating seuen continuall yeres.

And I beleeue that these same were those religious persons,

the

the which in the yeere 34. certaine Indians of the Prouince of Mexico, sending before them messengers in their behalf, requested them that they woulde come into their countrie, to giue thē knowledge of that one onely God, who is God, and very Lorde of all the worlde: and for whose occasion the Indians helde a councel sundrie times, parlementing and informing themselues in their folke motes: to wit, what kinde of men those might be, which were called by the speciall name of fathers and brethren, and what it was that they pretended, and wherein they differed from the Spaniardes, of whom they had receiued so many outrages and iniuries: according in the ende to admit them with condition, that they should enter themselues alone, and not the Spaniardes with them, that which the religious promised thē. For it was permitted them, yea, commaunded them so to doe, by the Uiceroy of new Spaine, and that there shoulde no kinde of displeasure bee done vnto them by the Spaniardes. The Religious men preached vnto them the Gospell of Christe, as they are accustomed to doe, and as had been the holy intention of the kinges of Castile, that shoulde haue beene done. Howbeit, that the Spaniardes in all the seuen yeres space past, had neuer giuen thē any such notice of the truth of the Gospel, or so much as that there was any other king sauing himself, ẏ so tyrannised ouer them, and destroyed them. By these meanes of the religious, after the ende of fortie dayes that they had preached vnto them, the Lordes of the countrie brought vnto them, and put into their handes their idols, to the end that they should burne them. After also, they brought vnto them their young children, that they should catechise them, whom they loue as the apple of their eye. They made for them also Churches, and Temples, and houses. Moreouer, some other prouinces sent, and inuited them, to the ende that they might come to them also, to preache, and giue them the vnderstanding of God, and of him whom they saide to be the great king of Castile. And beeing perswaded and induced by the religious, they did a thing which neuer yet before hath been done in the Indies. (For whatsoeuer the tyrants, some of those which haue spoyled those Realmes, & great Countries, haue contriued to blemishe and defame the poore In-

dians withall, they are mockeries and leasings:) twelue or fifteene Lordes, which had very many subiectes and great dominion, assembling euery one for his owne part his people, and taking their aduise and consent, of their owne voluntarie motion, yeelded themselues to the subiection, and to bee vnder the domination of the kinges of Castile: admitting the Emperour as king of Spain, for their liege Soueraigne. Wherof also they made certaine instrumentes, by them consigned, which I keepe in my charge; together with the testimonies thereunto of the said religious.

The Indians being thus onwarde in the way of the faith, with the great ioy, and good hope of the Religious brethren, that they shoulde bee able to winne vnto Iesus Christe all the people of the Realme that were the residue, beeing but a smal number of the slaughters, and wicked warres passed: There entred at a certaine coaste, eighteene Spaniarde tyrantes on horse backe, and twelue on foote, driuing with them great loades of Idols, which they had taken in the other Prouinces of the Indians. The Captaine of those thirtie Spaniards, called vnto him a Lorde of the countrie there aboutes as they were entred, and commaundeth him to take those idols, and to disperse them throughout al his countrie, selling euery idol for an Indian mã, or an Indian woman, to make slaues of them, with threatening them, that if hee did not doe it, hee woulde bidde them battaile. That saide Lorde beeing forced by feare, distributed those Idols throughout all the countrie, and commaunded all his subiectes, that they should take them to adore them, and that they shoulde returne in exchaunge of that ware Indies and Indisses to make slaues of. The Indians beeing afteard, those which had two children, gaue him one, and he that had three gaue him two. This was the ende of this sacrilegious trafficke: and thus was this Lord or Cacick, faine to content these Spaniards: I say not Christians.

One of these abhominable chafferers, named Iohn Garcia, beeing sicke, and neere his death, had vnder his bed two packs of Idols, and commaunded his Indish maide that serued him,

to looke to it that she made not away his idols, that there were for Murlineus, for they were good stuffe: and that making vent of them, she should not take lesse then a slaue for a peece one of them with another: and in fine, with this his Testament and last will thus deuised, the caytife dyed, busied with this deep goodly care, and who doubteth but that he is lodged in the bottome of hell?

Let it nowe bee considered, and well weyed, what kinde of aduauncement of religion it is, and what are the good examples of Christianitie of the behalfe of the Spanishe, that sayle to the Indies? What honour they doe vnto God, how they paine themselues to haue him knowen and adored of those nations: what carke and care the haue of the doing of it, that by their meanes the rather the sacred faith shoulde bee dispersed, encreased, and enlarged in the free passage thereof, amongest those silly creatures? And let it with all bee discerned, if the sinne of these men be any whit lesse then the sinne of *Ieroboam*, Which made Israel to sinne, by making two golden Calues for the people, to fall downe before, and worshippe: or otherwise if it bee not like to the treason of Iudas, and which hath caused more offence.

These bee the ieastes of the Spaniardes, whiche goe to the Indies, whiche of a truth very many times, yea, an infinit sort of times, for couetyse, and to scratche golde, haue solde and do sell: haue reneaged, and do reneage as yet hitherto, and at this present day: Christ Iesus.

The Indians perceiuing that, that, which the religious had promised them, was as good as nothing: namely, that the Spaniardes shoulde not enter those Prouinces: and seeing the Spaniards whiche had laded thither idols from other places, there to make vent of them, they hauing put al their idols afore into the handes of the Fryars, to the ende they shoulde bee burned, and to the ende the true God shoulde bee by them adored, all the Countrie was in a mutinie, and a rage against the religious Fryars, and the Indians comming vnto them, say-

Why haue you lyed vnto vs, in promising vs by deceites that there should not enter any Spaniardes into these Countries? And why haue you burnt our gods, seeing the Spaniards doe bring vs other gods from other nations? Were not our gods as good, as the gods of other prouinces? The fryars pacified them in the best maner that they could, not knowing what to answere them: and went to seeke out those thirtie Spaniards, to whom they declared the euill which they had done, praying thē to get them thence. That which the Spaniards would not doe, but saide to the Indians, that those religious men had caused them to come thither themselues of their owne accorde, whiche was rightly an extreeme maliciousnesse. In the end the Indians deliberated to kill the religious men: By occasion whereof, the Fryars fled away in a night, hauing aduertisement of the case by some of the Indians. But after that they were gone, the Indians better informed of the innocencie of the religious mē, and of the vngraciousnesse of the Spaniardes, the sent messengers after them, neere hand fiftie leagues of, beseeching them to come againe, and crauing pardon of them. The religious, as the seruants of God, and zealous for the winning of their soules, beleeuing them, returned to them, and were receiued as it had been Angels. And the Indians doyng them a thousand seruices, abode with them foure or fiue monethes. And for because the Spaniards would neuer departe that Countrie, and that namely the Viceroy with all that he could doe, could not draw them thence, newe Spaine beeing farre of, howbeit, hee had caused them to bee proclaimed traitours: And for as muche as they neuer ceased to commit their outrages, and griefes accustomed amongst the Indians, the religious perceiuing that sooner or later they should smell of the smoke, and peraduenture the euill light vpon their heades: and specially that they coulde not preach vnto the Indians with quiet, and assurance of the Indiās, & of themselues, by reason of the continuall assaultes and lewde deportments of the Spanish, they deliberated to leaue ỳ realme: which in this maner was destitute of the light and the doctrine: and those soules abode vnder the darknesse of ignorance, and in the miserie they were in, the remedie, and the watering of the

knowe

knowledge of God being bereaued them, alreadie euen at their beſt, and when as they began to receiue it with exceeding willingnes: altogether like as if one ſhould withdraw the watring from tender plants, and new ſet into a drie ground, at a hot time of the yeere: and this by the curſed vngraciouſneſſe of the Spaniſh.

Of the Prouince of Saint Martha.

THe prouince of Saint Martha, was a countrie where the Spaniardes gathered golde in all plentie: the land beeing with the regions adiacent very rich, and the people induſtrious to drawe out the golde. Wherefore alſo from the yeere one thouſand, fiue hundred, fortie two, infinite tyrants haue made thither continually with their ſhips, ouerrunning, and raunging along the countrie, killing and ſpoyling thoſe the inhabitants, and ramping from them that gold that they had, with ſpeedie return euer to their ſhips, which went and came oftentimes. And ſo wrought they in thoſe prouinces great waſts, and ſlaughters, and cruelties horrible, & that moſt commonly on the Sea coaſt, and certaine leagues within the countrie, vntill the yeere one thouſand, fiue hundred, and three. At what time there wente Spaniſh tyrants to inhabite there. And for as much as the countrie was exceeding riche as hath been ſaid, there euer ſucceeded Captaines one in anothers roome, euerie one more cruell then other: in ſuch ſort that it ſeemed that euerie one inforced himſelfe, for the maſterie in doing of euilles and cruelties more haynous then had been done by his predeceſſour. Wherefore herein is the rule verified that we haue giuen before. The yeere one thouſande, fiue hundred, twentie and nine, there went a great tyrant, very reſolute, with great troupes: but without any feare of God, or compaſſion of the nature of man, who wrought ſuche waſtes, and ſlaughters ſo greate, that hee exceeded all others that had gone before him, himſelfe robbing for

the space of sixe or seuen yeares that he lyued, great treasures: saue after beeing deceased without confession, and fledde from the place of his residence: there succeeded him other murdering tyrantes, and theeues, which made an ende of the rest of the people, whome the embrewed handes with blood, and the caruing swoordes of the tyruntes his forerunners, coulde not extyrp.

They set themselues so forwarde in the countrey, in inuading and laying desolate very manye prouinces, with killing, and taking prisoners those people, after the fashion before practised in other Prouinces, causing the Lordes together with their Subiectes to suffer grieuous torments, both to make them discouer the golde, and the places where golde might bee had: surmounting as is sayde euery way in number of mischieuous doinges, and in the maner of dooing, all that had passed before: that from the yeere one thousande, fiue hundred, twentie and niene, vnto this day, they haue reduced into a wilderneſſe in those same quarters more then foure hundred leagues of lande, which was no lesse peopled then the other countreys which wee haue spoken of.

Uerily if I had to make a bedrolle of the vngraciousnesses, of the slaughters, of the desolations, of the iniquities, of the violencies, of the massacres, and other greate insolencies whiche the Spaniardes haue done, and committed in those Prouinces of Saint Martha agaynst God, the king, and agaynst those innocent nations: I shoulde write an history very ample. But that maye bee done if God spare mee lyfe, hereafter in his good tyme: onely I will sette downe a fewe woordes of that which was written in a letter by a Byshoppe of this Prounce to the king our Soueraigne: and the letter beareth date the twentieth of May, 1541. The whiche Byshoppe amongst other woordes, speaketh thus: I say, sacred Maiestie, that the way to redresse this countrey, is that his Maiestie deliuer her out of the power of Stepfathers, and giue vnto her an husbande whiche may intreate her as is reason, and accoyding as shee deserueth: otherwise, I am sure hereafter as the tyrauntes whiche nowe haue the gouernement, doe torment and tormoyle her, shee will soone take an ende, &c.

And

And a little belowe hee ſayeth: Whereby, your Maieſtie ſhall knowe clearely, howe thoſe whiche gouerne in thoſe quarters doe deſerue to bee diſamounted, and depoſed from their gouernment, to the ende, that the common weales maye bee relieued. That if that be not done, in mine aduiſe, they can neuer be cured of their diſeaſes. His maieſtie ſhal vnderſtand moreouer, that in thoſe regions, there are not any Chriſtians but diuels, that there are no ſeruantes of God and the king, but traitors to the ſtate, and their king. And in truth the greateſt encombraunce that I finde in reducing the Indians, that are in warre, and to ſet them at peace, and to lead thoſe which are at peace to ỹ knowledge of our faith, is vnnaturall & cruell entreaty, wᵗ they ỹ are in peace do receiue of ỹ Spaniſh, being ſo deeply altered, & lãced, ỹ they haue nothing in more hatred & horror, thẽ the name of chriſtiãs, ỹ which in al theſe countreys they cal in their lãguage, pares, ỹ is to ſay, diuels. For ỹ acts which they cõmitted here, are neither of chriſtians, nor of mẽ which haue the vſe of reaſõ: but of diuels. Whereof it commeth to paſſe, ỹ the Indies which doe ſee theſe behauiors to be generally ſo far eſtrãged frõ all humanity, & wout any mercy, aſwell in ỹ heads as in ỹ mẽbers: they eſteem, ỹ the chriſtians do hold theſe things for a law, & that their God, & their K. are ỹ authors thereof. And to endeuor to perſwad thẽ otherwiſe, were to endeuor in vaine, & to miniſter vnto thẽ ỹ more ample matter, to deride and ſcorne Jeſus Chriſt & his law. The Indians that are in warre, ſeeing the intreatie vſed toward the Indians that are in peace: woulde chuſe rather to die once for all, then to endure ſundrie deathes, beyng vnder the command of the Spaniſh. I knowe this by experience, moſt victorous Ceſar. &c.

He ſayth for a ſurcharge in a chapter a ttle lower, His M. hath in theſe parts more ſeruants then it ſuppoſeth. For here is not one ſouldier of ſo many as are of them, that dare not ſay openly & publikly, ỹ if he roue, rob, waſt, ſlay, or burne the ſubiects of his M. to the ende ỹ they giue him ſome gold, he ſerueth there in your M. wᵗ this title, ỹ he ſaith, therof redoundeth to his M. his part. Wherfore, moſt chriſtiã Ceſar, it ſhould be good, that your M. gaue them to vnderſtand, by chaſtiſing ſome ſeuerely, that it

receiueth no ſeruice in ought, whereby God is diſobeyed and diſhonoured. All the aboueſayde are the formall woordes of the ſaide Biſhoppe of Saint Martha: by the which may bee ſeene clearly, what is done at this day amongeſt theſe poore innocent peoples in thoſe countreys.

He calleth the Indians in warre, thoſe which ſaued themſelues by flying into the mountaines from the ſlaughters of the miſchieuous Spaniardes. And hee calleth the Indians in peace, thoſe which after hauing loſt an infinite of their people, by the maſſacres, haue been thralled into the tyrannicall and horrible ſeruitude aforeſayde, and whereof in the ende they haue been ſtoned out, deſolated, and ſlayne, as appeareth by that which hath been ſaide by the Biſhoppe, which notwithſtanding ſpeaketh but litle, in compariſon of that which they haue ſuffered.

The Indians in that countrey haue accuſtomed to ſay, if when they are trauayled and dryuen vp the mountaynes loden, they happen to fall downe, and to fainte for feebleneſſe, and for payne: for at that tyme they lay on vpon them blowes with their feete and with their ſtaues, and they breake theyr teethe with the pomelles of their ſwordes, to make them riſe, and march on without taking of breath, with theſe woordes, out vpon thee, what a villanie art thou: they (I ſay) the Indians, for their partes are wont to ſay, I can no more: kill mee heere right. I doe deſire to die heere: and this they ſay with great ſighes, and beeing ſcarce able to ſpeake, for hauing their heart drawen together, declaring a great anguiſhe and dolour. But who were able to giue to vnderſtande the hundreth parte of the afflictions and calamities, that theſe innocent people doe ſuffer of the curſed Spaniardes? God make them to take knowledge of it, that are able and bounde to redreſſe it.

Of the Prouince of Cartha-

gene.

This Prouince of Carthagene is ſituate vnder', and a fiftie leagues diſtant from the ſame of Saint Martha, towardes the Weſt, confining with the prouince of Ceu, vnto the gulph

of

of Araba: which are a hundred leagues all along the Sea ſide, and is a great countrie within land towardes the South. Theſe Prouinces ſince the yeere 1498. or 99. vntill nowe haue beene euill entreated, martyred, maſſacred, deſolated like vnto that of Saint Martha: and there hath beene in theſe ſame done by the Spaniardes ſuch cruelties, ranſackinges, and pillagings enormous: as the which to make an ende the rather of this briefe Summarie, as alſo to make way to the rehearſall of their euill doinges in other Prouinces, I will not ſtande to touch in particuler.

Of the Coaſte of Perles, and of Paria, and of the Iſle of the Trinitie.

FRom the coaſt of Paria, vnto the goulph of Veneſuela, without fooyth, which are two hundred leagues: the Spaniſhe haue wrought great and ſtraunge deſtructions, rioting vppon that people, and taking aliue as many as they coulde, to the ende they might ſell them for ſlaues: and oftentimes making them priſoners againſt the aſſurance and the promiſe of friendſhippe made vnto them, neither keeping with them their faith plighted vnto them, ỹ friendly entertainement which they had receiued of thoſe good people notwithſtanding: hauing beene entertained and entreated in their houſes, as parents and children, vſing them to ſerue their turn withall, and inioying all that they had, and that that they were able to doe for them. It cannot bee well told, nor particularly expreſt, the ſundrie kindes and greeuous vexations, wronges, hurtes, and ſpoyles, which thoſe people indured at the Spaniardes handes, from the yeere 1510. vntill this preſent. I will onely rehearſe two or three actes, by the whiche it may bee iudged of the reſt, innumerable and exceſſiue, and worthy all tormentes and fire.

In the Ile of the Trinitie, whiche is farre greater and more fertile then the Iſle of Scicile, and toyneth with the firme lande of the coaſte of Paria, and where the people are the beſt diſpoſed, and moſte enclined to vertue in their kinde, of all

the Indians, as they went, there a captaine Rouer in the yeere, 1510. accompanied with 60. or 70. other petie theeues well appointed: they published among the Indians by proclamations, and other publike sommõs, that they should come and dwell and liue with them in that Ile. The Indians receiued them as their owne bowels and babes: and as well the Lordes as subiectes serued them with exceeding readines, bringing them to eate frõ day to day, as much as might suffice to feede, as manie moe people. For this is the liberality of all these Indians of the new world, to bestow on the Spaniards of al that they haue in great abundance. The Spanish build a great house of timber, in the which the Indians should dwell all together: for the Spanishe would haue it so, that there should be one only house for all, and no more, to compasse that, which they had alredie premeditate to do, & did it. When they laid the thetch vpon the binding staues or sparres, and had alreadie couered to the height of two mens length, to the end that those that were within might not see those that were without, vnder colour to hasten forward the worke, ỹ it might be the sooner dispatched, they set a great number of people within, the Spaniards deuiding themselues, the one part of them being bestowed without, compassing the house round about with their weapons, because of those that might get forth, the other part of them presse into the house: Thus laying hands on their swordes, they began to threaten the Indians naked as they were, to kill them if they did stirre, and then bound them. And those which fled they hewed them in peeces: Howbeit som of the Indies which fled, both of the hurt & not hurt, with others that had not come within the house, toke their bowes & arrowes and assembled themselues in another house, about an hundred or two hundred persons: And as they kept the gate, the Spaniards set fire on the house, & burned them alue. After with their purchase, which might bee of an hundred or fourescore persons of them which they had bounde: they get them to the Ile of saint Iohn, where they solde the one moitie, and thence to the Ile of Hispaniola: where they solde the other moity. As I reprehended the captaine for this notable treason, at the same time, and at the same Ile of Saint Iohn, hee made an answere: Syr, quiet your

selfe for that matter. So haue they commanded me to doe, and giuen me instruction which sent mee: that if I coulde not take them by warre, I shoulde take them vnder countenance and colour of peace. And in truth the Captaine tolde mee that in all his life, he neuer had founde father nor mother, but in this Isle of the Trinitie, in respect of the friendly courtesies the Indians had shewed him. And this hee spake to his owne greater cõfusion and aggrauating for the surcharge of his owne offences. They haue done other things semblable vnto these infinite, in this firme lande: apprehending the poore people contrary to the safe conduct promised. Let it now be weighed, what maner of doings these are, and whether the Indians in this wise taken, might iustly be made slaues.

At another time, the religious Fryars of saint Dominicks order, being determined to goe preache, and to conuert those nations, who had not the light of the doctrine for to saue their souls, as is the case at this day of the Indians: they sent a religious man licentiate in diuinitie, a mã vertuous & holy, with a laie man of his order his companion, to the ende hee shoulde take a viewe of the Countrie, to trauerse acquaintance with that people, and search out a place commodious to builde monasteries. The religious being arriued: they receiued them as Angelles commen from heauen: and hearde with great affection, attention, and willingnesse such wordes as the religious at that time were able to giue them to vnderstand, more by signes thẽ otherwise, for they knew not the tongue. It came to passe that there arriues there another ship, after that the ship in whiche the religious men came was departed thence, and the Spanish in this vessell, keeping their diuelish custome, by suttelty without the knowledge of the religious, carried away the Lord of the countrie called Alfonso: were it ẏ Friars had giuẽ him this name, or els others. For the Indians loue & desire to beare the name of ẏ Christiãs, desiring incõtinẽt ẏ it may be giuen them euen before they know any thing, ẏ they may be baptized. They induced fraudilẽtly this Don Alfonso to come aboord their ship with the lady his wife, & other persõs, making sẽblãce to go about to feast thẽ. In the end there entred seuenteene persons, together w the

Lord and his Lady: the Lord trusting that the religious persons being entred into his Countrie, woulde keepe the Spaniardes from doyng any wrong: for otherwise hee woulde neuer haue put himselfe in the handes of the Spanish. The Indians therfore thus being in the ship, the traiterous Spaniards hoysed sayles, and away they went to Hispaniola with them, there selling them for slaues. All the Countrie seeing that their Lorde & soueraigne Lady were carried away, they run to the religious men, purposing to kill them. The poore men seeing so great a villany, were of themselues at a point to dye for sorrowe: and it is well to be beleeued of them, that they woulde rather haue gyuen their lyues in the quarrell, then to haue accorded that anye such iniury should haue been committed: specially considering that was enough to hinder the course begun, so as those poore Heathens should neuer, neither heare, nor hearing beleeue the worde of God. Howbeit, they appeased the Indians in the best maner they could, saying that they woulde write to them at Hispaniola by the first ship that went, & would take suche care and order in the matter, that their soueraigne should be restored them againe with those that were in his companie. God sent immediately vpon a ship thither, no doubt for the greater confirmation of the damnation of those which there gouerned, and they wrote to the Spanishe religious men that were in the Isle of Hispaniola. They cry out, and call heauen and earth to witnesse against them, both first, & sundrie times after: But the Iudges of the audience, would neuer giue them audience to do thē iustice, for because thēselues had part in the bootie of the Indiās, which the tyrants had so against all right & reason takē. The two religious men, which had promised the Indians of the countrie, that their Lord Don Alfonso, with others shold come home with the rest within foure moneths, seeing ỳ they came not neither in 4. nor 8. made thēselues redy to the death, & to giue their life, which they had gaged before they came out of Spaine, if neede shoulde bee, and in that sort the Indians tooke vengeance on thē in killing them iustly, notwithstanding that they were innocent: for because that they thought that the religious men had beene the occasion of this treason, and for because they sawe that, that whiche they had certified and promised them, tooke not effect: to witte, that within foure monethes they shoulde haue

home their Lorde: and for that, at that time they knewe not, and nowe as yet they knowe not in that countrey, that there is any difference betweene the religious well diſpoſed: and the tyrants, theeues, and robbers the Spaniardes. Thoſe religious men therefore right happie, ſuffered vniuſtly, and for the wrong ſo ſuffered, there is no doubt but they are very martyres, and doe raigne at this day with God in the kingdome of heaue nin bliſſe, who woulde that by their obedience they ſhoulde be ſent thither, and ſhould haue an entent, to preache and ſpredde the holy faith, and ſaue all thoſe ſoules, and ſuffer thoſe afflictions, and death it ſelfe when it ſhoulde be preſented vnto them for Jeſus Chriſte his ſake crucified.

An other time, by reaſon of the great tyrannies and execrable actes of the curſed ones, bearing the name of Chriſtians, the Indians ſlewe other two religious men of Saint Dominickes order, and one of Saint Frauncis. Whereof I can be a good witneſſe for that I eſcaped at the time miraculouſly from the ſame death, of the which it ſhoulde be a harde matter to entreat, and woulde bee to amaſe men, by reaſon of the grieuouſnes and horiblenеſſe of the caſe. Wherefore I will not lay it abroad (for being too tedious) vntil his tyme, and at the day of iudgement it ſhall bee more euident, when God ſhall take vengeance of the theeueries ſo horrible and ſo abhominable as are doone by thoſe which beare the name of Chriſtians againſt the Indians.

An other tyme in thoſe Prouinces at the Cape of the Codera (as they call it) there was a towne, the Lorde whereof was named Higueroto, a name eyther proper to the perſon, or it may bee common to the Lordes of the place. This Lorde was ſo bounteous, and his people ſo vertuous and ſeruiceable, that as many Spaniardes as came thither by ſhippe, they founde there good entertaynement, meate, lodging, all cheering, and refreſhing. This ſaide Lorde had alſo deliuered many from death of thoſe which were fledde thither out of other Prouinces, where they had ryoted and tyrannized, and come thither ſicke, and halfe dead for hunger: whom they refreſhed, and afterward ſent them away ſafe, to the Ile of Perles, where there were Spaniardes, and might haue ſlayne them if hee had woulde,

without that euer any shoulde haue knowen it. And shortely to say the Spanish did call the Subiectes of Higurroto, the house and harbour of euery bodie. A caytife tyraunt aduised him selfe to outrage that people also, when as they thought themselues sure enough: and getting him to a shippe, hee had there inuited a greate number of people to come a boorde her as they were accustomed to doe, and to trust the Spaniardes.

A great nũber of people being entred into her, men, women, and children, hee hoysed sayles, and went to the Ile of Saint Iohn, where hee soulde them all for slaues.

I came at the same instant to the Ile of Saint Iohn, and I sawe the tyrant, and vnderstood what he had done. Hee had destroyed all that townesship: whereby he did great harme to all other his fellow tyrants, wonted to rob, and roue all along those coasts, insomuch as they had in abomination this act so hydeous, being bereft thereby of their harbour, and house of retire, as ordinarie & familiar vnto them as it had bin their own home & house.

I deport me to recount the mischieues infinite, and cases abominable, which haue bin vsed in that countrey, and are vsed as yet.

They haue singled out at times from all this coaste, the which was very wel peopled, vnto the Iles of S. Iohn & Hispaniola, aboue two millions of soules, sealed vpon by their purchases in thieuing and robbing: which also euery one of them they haue slaine not long after, by thrusting them into the minerals and other toyroyls, besides the great numbers there were there alreadie before time, as we haue aboue said. And it is a pitifull thing, and able to make any heart to cleaue, were it neuer so harde, to see all this coast of a countrey most fertile, to bee lefte all naked and emptie of people.

It is a tried case, that they neuer conuey away their shippings of Indians so robbed & purchased, as I haue said, but that they cast the third part into the sea, besides those which they slay, whẽ they will sort thẽ to thẽselues for their chafer. The cause is, that when as they will by all meanes atteine to the ende which they haue proposed to them selues: they haue need of a great number of people, for to draw a great deale of money, according to the

quantitie

quantitie of the ſlaues: & they prepare but a very ſmall deale of ſuſtenance and water, to ſerue but a few perſons: to the ende that thoſe tyrants whom they call purueyghours of the ſhips ſhould not ſpend them much. And there is but euen ſcarſe enough, ſaue to ſerue the Spaniardes turne which go a rouing and robbing: and there is alwayes wanting for the poore Indians. Wherefore alſo they die for hunger and thirſt: and then there is none other remedie but to caſt them ouer the boord into the ſea. And verily a man among them did tell me, that frõ the Ile of Lucayos, where had been wrought great ſlaughters in this maner, vnto the Ile of Hiſpaniola, which are a threeſcore, or ſeuentie leages, there trended a ſhip all alongſt, without that it had either compaſſe or mariners carde, being guided onely by the tracke of dead Indians carkaſſes, flotting vppon the ſeas, of them whiche had been caſt in.

And after they be landed in the Ile, whither they bring them to make ſale of them: it is to make an heart to yearne of whoſoeuer, haue he neuer ſo litle compaſſion, to behold them naked and famiſhed, fall downe and faint for hunger and thirſt, women, and aged men, and childzen.

Afterwardes they ſoone after they ſeparate them, as it were Lambes, the fathers from the childzen, and the wiues from the huſbandes, in making troupes of them of tenne or twentie perſons, and ſo caſt lottes on them, to the ende. thoſe curſed purueighours ſhould take their ſhare, which are thoſe who do equipe or rig, and furniſh two or three ſhips for the nauy of thoſe tirants, pirates, and rouers, robbing by ſea & land, ſeaſing vpon all they come by, and pulling the poore men out of their owne houſen. And looke when the lot falleth vpon the flock where there were amõg thẽ any old or ſick perſõ, ẏ tyrant to whõ ẏ ſame eſcheated, would ſay: That the diuell take the olde graybeard, why doeſt thou giue him mee, to the ende I ſhoulde goe burie him? And this ſicke raſcall, what haue I to doe that hee ſhoulde fall out to my lotte: to the ende, I ſhoulde bee his Phiſition to cure him? Hereby a man may ſee, in what eſtimation the Spaniardes haue the Indians, and howe they accompliſhe the commaundement of God, touching the loue of their neighbour, of the which

dependeth the lawe and the Prophetes. The tyrannie whiche the Spaniſhe exerciſe ouer the Indians, to fiſhe for Pearles, is one of the cruelleſt and curſedeſt thynges that is in the worlde.

There is no hell in this life, nor other deſperate ſtate in this worlde, that may be compared vnto it: although that the trade of golde finding, be in his kinde, very grieuous, and very miſerable. They let them into the ſea, three, or foure, or fiue, fadome forthoowneright vnder water, from the morning vntyll ſunneſette, where they are continually flitting without ſtint, to plucke oyſters, in the which are engendred the pearles. They ſurge vp aboue the waters, with a nette full of oyſters to take breath: where ſtandeth readie a Spaniſhe tormentor, in a little cocke boate, or a brigantine, and if the poore wretches ſtay neuer ſo litle while, to reſt them ſelues: they all to bee buffet them with their fiſtes, and draw them by the haire into the water to returne to their fiſhing. Their ſuſtenaunce is fiſhe, and the ſame very fiſh which contayneth the pearles, and the bread Cacabi, or ſome Mahis, which are the kindes of bread of that countrey: the one of very ſlender nouriſhment, the other is not eaſie to bee made into breade, of the which alſo; they neuer giue them their belly full.

The beddes that they lodge them in a nights, is to ſet them by the heeles, their bodies requoyling on the coulde grounde, in a payre of ſtockes for feare of running away. Sometymes they are drowned in the ſea, and at their fiſhing and trauayle of piking of pearles, and neuer riſe vp agayne aboue the water: becauſe the Bunches and Whirlepooles (they call them Tuberones and Maroxos) two kinde of monſters of the ſea moſt cruell, which deuour a man all whole, and thoſe doe kill them and eate them.

Let it nowe here be conſidered, whither in this purchaſe of Pearles, the commaundements of God, touching the loue of God, and our neyghbours be kept, or not: when they throwe thoſe people into daunger of bodyes and ſoules. For they ſlay their neigbours by their couetouſneſſe, without that they receiue, or fayth, or ſacramentes, or els they prolonge

them

them in a ſtate of life ſo horrible, that they bring them to their ende, and conſume them in a few dayes. For it is impoſſible, that men ſhould be able to liue any long ſeaſō vnder the water without taking breath, the continuall cold percing them: & ſo they die commōly, parbraking of blood at ẏ mouth: becauſe of the kitting together of their cheſtes, or bulke of the breaſt ariſing thereof, that they are ſo continually without breathing vnder the water, and of the blooddy flure, cauſed by the cold. Their haires, which by nature are cole blacke, alter and become after a branded ruſſette, like to the haires of the ſeawolues. The ſalt peeter breaketh out of their ſhouldiers, in ſuch ſort, that they ſeeme to bee a kind of monſters in the ſhape of men, or els ſome other kinde of men. They diſpatched in ridding about this inſupportable trauayle, or rather to ſpeake rightly, this diueliſh torment, all ẏ Lucayan Indians which were in the Iles, hauing ſauoured this gaynes, and euery Indian was worth vnto them a fiftie, or an hundred Caſtillans. They made an open marte of them, notwithſtanding it were inhibited them, by the magiſtrate otherwiſe vnmercifull: for the Lucayens were good ſwimmers. They alſo, about theſe thinges haue ſlayne a number of the people of other prouinces.

Of the riuer Yuia Pari.

THere runneth through the prouince of Paria, a riuer named Yuia Pari, more then two hundred leagues within land from the head. There entred the ſame riuer, an vnluckie tyraunt, a great manie leagues vpwarde, in the yeere, one thouſande, fiue hundred, twentie and niene with a foure hundred menne or more: whiche there wroght greate ſlaughters, burning aliue, and putting to the edge of the ſwoorde, an infinite ſorte of Indians, whiche were in their landes and houſes doing hurt to no creature, and therefore ſecure, and miſtruſting nothing.

In the ende hee dyed an euill death, and his Nauie was diſperaged: albeit that other tyraunts there were which ſucce-

ded him in his mischieuousnesses and tyrannies: and yet at this day thither they goe, destroying, and slaying, and plunging into hell the soules for whom the sonne of God shed his blood.

Of the realme of Venes- uela.

THe yeere 1526. the king our Soueraigne, being induced by sinister informations and perswasions dammageable to the state, as the Spaniardes haue alwayes payned them selues to conceale from his Maiestie the dammages and dishonours which GOD and the soules of men, and his state doeth receiue in the Indies: graunted and committed a great realme, greater then all Spayne, that Venesuela, with the gouernement and entier iurisdiction, vnto certayne Dutch Marchaunts, with certayne capitulations and conuentions accorded betweene them.

These same entring the countrey with three hundred men: they found the people very amiable, & meeke as lambes, as they are all in those parties of the Indies, vntill the Spanish do outrage them. These set vpon them wout comparison a great deale more cruelly, then any of the other tyrauntes, of the whiche wee haue spoken before: shewing them selues more vnnaturall and fierce, then raging tygars, or wolues, or ramping Lions. For they had the iurisdiction of the whole countrey, possessing it with more freedom, and vsing it with a greater care, and darker blinde madnes of couetyse, seruing their owne turnes with all practises and cheuisaunces, to get and gather golde and siluer, more then all they of whom hath bin spoken heretofore: hauing wholly shaken off all feare of God, and of the king: yea, hauing forgotten themselues to bee men.

These diuels incarnate haue laide desolate and destroyed, more then foure hundred leagues of most fertill lande, and therein, of prouinces exceeding and wonderfull, fayre vayles, to the breadth of fourtie leagues, and bournes verye great, full of peo-

people,and of golde. They haue slayne,and wholly discomfited great and diuers nations, so farre foorth as to abolishe the languages wonted to bee spoken,not leauing aliue that could skill of them: vnlesse some one or other, who had hid them selues in the caues and bowels of the earth,,flying the dint of the swoorde, so raging and plaging. They haue slayne, destroyed, and sent to hell by diuers and strange maners of cruelties and vngodlynesses,moe(I suppose)then foure or fiue millions of soules:and yet at this present,they cease not to doe the same, by infinite outrages,spoyles,and slaughters,which they haue committed, and doe commit dayly vnto this present. I will onely touch three or foure,by the which it may bee iudged of others, which they vsed to accomplish their destructions, and disolations aboue mentioned.

They tooke the Lord soueraigne of all the prouince without all cause,onely to bereeue him of his golde, giuing him also the torture: which Lorde vnbounde himselfe, and escaped from them into the mountaynes,wherefore also the subiectes rose and were in a mutinie,hiding thē selues vpō the mountaynes,amongst the hedges and bushes. The Spaniardes make after to chase them, and hauing founde them,commit cruell massacres, and as many as they take aliue,they sell them in port sale for slaues.

In diuers prouinces, yea in all where they became before that they tooke the Soueraigne Lorde, the Indies went to receyue them with songes,and daunces,and with presents of gold in great quantitie.

The payment made them, was, to bee put to the edge of the swoorde, and hewen in peeces. One time, as they went to receyue the Spanishe in the fashion abouesayde: the Dutche Captayne tyraunt,caused to bee put in a thatched house a greate number of people,and hackled in peeces.

And beeing on high,neere the top of the house certayne beames which diuers had got vpon, auoyding the blooddy handes and swoordes of those people(O mercilesse beastes)the diuelishe man, sent to put to fire,wherby as many as there were,were burned aliue. By this meanes the cōutrey remained very desert, ỹ people flying into the mountaines,where they hoped to saue thēselues.

They came into another great prouince, in the confines of the prouince and realme of Saint Martha, where they found the Indians peaceable in their boroghs, & in their houſē, doing their buſines: they continued a long time with them, eating their ſtore, and the Indians ſerued them, as if they had to receiue of them their life and ſafegarde, ſupporting their continuall oppreſſions, and vſuall outragiouſneſſes, which are intollerable: beſides that one Spaniſhe glutton, eateth more in one day, then woulde ſuffice an whole houſholde of more then ten Indians. They gaue them at that time, a great quantitie of golde, of their owne good will, ouer & beſides, other ſeruices innumerable, which they did vnto them. At the ende as theſe tyrants would depart the place, they aduiſed to pay them for their lodging, in this manner.

The Almain tyrant gouernour, commaunded to take ſuche Indians as they could, with their wiues and children, and that they ſhould ſhut them vp within an incloſure, wounded in of purpoſe, letting them know, that who ſo would come forth, and bee let go free, that he ſhould redeeme himſelfe at the pleaſure of the vniuſt gouernour: in giuing ſo much golde for himſelfe, ſo much for his wife, and ſo much for euery polle of his children. And yet to preſſe them the more, he commanded to giue them nothing to eate, vntil ſuch time as they had perfourmed the quantity of golde inflicted them for their raunſome. Many ſent to their houſen for golde, and bought out themſelues as they were able, and thoſe ſame were deliuered, and went abroad about their buſines to get their liuing. The tyrant ſent certain Spaniſh thieues & robbers, to go take them againe the ſecond time, after they had bin redeemed. They are carried to the percloſe, and there wrung with hunger and thirſt, to the ende, that they ſhoulde yet once a-gayn pay for their freedom. And there were many amōgſt them, which were taken and ranſommed two or three ſundry times. Others which had not to giue, for becauſe they had all they had, he let them within the toyle dye for hunger.

And in this maner hath bin deſtroyed a prouince very riche of people and golde, the which hath a vale or bourne of fourtie leagues, where hath beene brent a borough of the receite of a thouſande houſholdes.

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This Tyrant reſolued with himſelfe to pearce farther into the countrie, with a great deſire to diſcouer on that ſide, ẏ ſame hill of Peru. By occaſion of which accurſed voyage both hee and others carried fooꝛth with them, Indians infinite, loden with two oꝛ thꝛee quintalles weight, and beeing enchained. If any were weake oꝛ wearie, fainting foꝛ hunger, oꝛ trauelling, they cut incontinent his head off euen with the coller of the chaine that yoked them: becauſe they ſhoulde not neede to vnhamper the others that went with the ſame collers aboute their neckes, and ſo tombled the head on the one ſide, and the bodie on the other. And the load of him that had ſo failed was diſtributed and beſtowed vpon others. To tel of the Pꝛouinces, whiche hee hath layed deſart, and the townes and places which hee hath bꝛent, foꝛ all the houſes are thetched, and to number the nations which hee hath ſlaine, and the cruelties, and murders particuler, which hee hath committed by the way, it would be a thing ſcarce credible: howbeit very true and wonderfull. In this ſame very courſe and ſteppes marched ſithence the other tyꝛants, who came from the ſaid Veneſuela, and others of the Pꝛouince of S. Martha, with the ſelfe ſame holy intention to diſcouer the ſame ſacred golden palace of Peru: and founde the whole countrie in length moꝛe then two hundꝛed leagues ſo burned, diſpeopled, & ſpoyled, hauing been befoꝛe moſt notablie peopled and moſt fertill, as hath been ſaid, that themſelues as very tyꝛantes and ſauage beaſtes as they were, wondered and ſtood aſtoniſhed to ſee the trackes of the deſtructions ſo lamentable, whereſouer he had paſſed.

All theſe thinges haue been giuen in euidence with the depoſitions of many witneſſes by the Atturney of the councel of the Indies, and the euidences are kept amongſt the Recoꝛdes of the ſame counceſl: and yet haue they neuer burnt aliue, any of thoſe execrable tyꝛants. And this is nothing of all that whiche hath beene pꝛoued, of the great outrages and miſchieues which theſe haue committed. Foꝛ as much as the miniſters of iuſtice, which vntill this time haue bin in the Indies, by reaſon of their great wilfull and damnable blyndneſſe, haue neuer troubled themſelues to examine the offences, ſpoyles, and murders, which

haue beene wrought, and yet preſently are wrought by the tyrants in the Indies: ſaue only they will ſay, becauſe ſuche hath cruelly intreated the Indies, the king hath loſt of his reuenews ſo many thouſande Caſtilians in rent, and this little verdict ouer general and confuſed, muſt ſuffice for the diſclaime of ſo many villanies. And yet that litle which they take vpon them, they doe not auerr, nor deuur vpon, as they ought to do. For if they had regarde of their dutie to God and the king, it woulde bee founde, that thoſe Almaine tyrants haue robbed the king of aboue three thouſand Caſtillans of gold. For thoſe prouinces of Veneſuela with the others which they haue laid waſte, and diſpeopled more then four hundred leagues forthright, as hath bin ſaide, is a region the moſt bliſfull, and the richeſt of golde, and was the beſt peopled of any in the worlde: in ſuch ſort, that they haue diſturned from the kinges cofers, and occaſioned the loſſe in this Realm of aboue two millions of rent, within ſeuenteene yeeres ſithence by paſt, that theſe enemies of God and the king haue begunne to deſtroy it: neither is there any hope that euer thoſe loſſes will be repayred as long as the worlde ſhall indure: vnleſſe it be, that God ſhold myraculouſly rayſe as many millions of ſoules as are deceaſed. It ſhall not bee out of the way to conſider, of what ſortes and howe exceſſiue haue beene the damages, diſhonours, blaſphemies, & infamies, which God & his lawe hath receiued: And wherewithall may bee recouered & recompenſed the loſſe of ſo many ſoules as burne in hell fire through the auarice and crueltie of thoſe tyrants Almains, ſhall I ſay, or All-uains?

Onely I will conclude the diſcourſe of their vngraciouſneſſe and crueltie heerewith. That is, that ſithence they entred the country vnto this preſent, that is to ſay, theſe ſeuēteene yeres they haue ſent by Sea a great number of ſhips loaden & ſtuffed with Indians, to make ſale of them as ſlaues at S. Martha, at the Iſles of Hiſpaniola, and of Iamayca, and at Saint Johns Iſle, moe then one million: and doe ſende dayly, as nowe this yeere one thouſand, fiue hundred, fortie two: the Court of the Audience royall notwithſtanding ſtabliſhed, for, and at Hiſpaniola, right well ſeeing all this, and diſſimuling to ſee it, yea, fa-

uouring and supporting all the matter: as likewise they haue had theyr eyes bended at all the other tyrannies and ransackings infinite, which hath been done in all this coast of this firme land which are about foure hundred leagues, the which haue been and nowe are vnder their iurisdiction, like vnto Uenesuela, & saint Martha: all which the said court might very well haue empeached and remedied. There is none other cause of putting all these Indians vnder yoke of bondage, saue the only peruerse, wilfully blinde, and obstinate greedines, and insatiable wretchednesse of these most couetous tyrants, and all to haue, and heape vp goods like as hath had all the rest throughout all the Indies, ramping these silly lambes and sheepe out of their houses, and carrying their wiues and children in the maners of proceeding so cruel and execrable as hath been said, branding them with the kings marke, to make them vendible for slaues.

Of the Prouinces of the firme lande,

or quarter that is called Florida.

INto these Prouinces went three tyrantes at three diuers times since the yeere 1510. or 1511. there to put in vre the actes which others, and two of them from among themselues haue committed in other quarters of the Indians: to the end to aspyre to high degrees, in no respect conuenient to their persons, higher then their merites in the cõmon wealth could conceaue, with the blood & destruction of their neighbours: and they are dead all three of an euill death, & their houses likewise haue been destroyed with them, the which they had builded in times past, with the blood of mankinde, as I can be a sufficient witnes of all three, and their memorie is nowe abolished from of the face of the earth, as if they had neuer beene in this worlde. They left all this Countrie in disorder, and confusion, and their owne manners in infamie and horror, for certaine slaughters whiche they did there, notwithstanding not so manie,

for

for as much as God plagued them with death before they coulde doe any more, and kept them from this outrage in this place, for the euils that I knowe, and haue seene that they did in other partes of the Indies.

The fourth tyrant, that came last in the yere. 1538. cunningly aduised, and beeing fully furnished: it is three yeeres since there is no tidinges concerning him. Wee are certaine that incontinent after his entrie thither: hee hath behaued himself cruelly, and since hath beene as a man vanished. That if he be aliue, hee and his mainies haue destroyed these three yeeres a great many mightie peoples, if hee hath found any in his enquest as hee hath gone: for sure he is one of the notoriousest and best experimented amongest them that haue done the most hurts, mischieues, and destructions in many Realmes with their consorts: wherefore I beleeue that God hath giuen him like end vnto the others.

Three or foure yeeres after the writing of the aboue written, came out of the Floryda the head of the petie tyrants which went thither with this captaine tyrant, that there left his bones: of whome wee vnderstood the cruelties and euilles, whiche there during his life time principailly, and vnder his conduct & gouernment, and since after his cursed death, the vnnaturall men haue executed against the Indians innocent, and harmeful to none, to verifie that which I had prognosticate before, they being so excessiue, that they haue the more confirmed the rule by mee set downe before at the beginning, that the farther they proceeded to discouer, destroy, and to waste countries and lands: the more cruelties and notorious wickednesses they woulde doe against God, and against their neighbours. It loatheth mee to recount those actes so cursed, ghastly, and bloodie, not of men but of sauage beastes: and therfore I would not trouble my head to stand rehearsing those which followed afterwards.

They found many great nations, and wise common weales well instituted for pollicie and ordinances. They executed vpon them great slaughters after their custome, to the ende to imprint in their heartes an awe. They martyred and murdered them, and loded them with weightie packes like beastes. And when

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any was foreweeried or foreſpent, to the ende they ſhoulde not need to looſe the chain, in the which they were giued in collers, before they come at him that fainted, they pare off the head from the collar bymme, the Troncke tombling one way, and the chaine another: as we haue before recounted to haue beene vſed otherwiſe.

Entring a borough, where they were receaued with ioy, and the Indians giuing them to eate their fill, and giuing them of Indians more then ſixe hundred to carry their fardels, carrying the beaſte of beaſtes in their ſeruice, and dreſſing theyr horſes: the tyrants being departed thence, a captaine kinſman of the principall tyrant returned to rob the people, being without diſtruſte & without feare, and ſlue with the thruſtes of Launce the Lorde and Kyng of the Countrie, executing beſides other cruelties.

In another borough, forasmuch as it ſeemed them that they were a little too neere neighbours, & ſtood more on their warde, for the actes villanous and infamous, which they had hearde of them: they put to the edge of the ſworde and launce, young & olde, great and little, ſubiect and ſoueraigne, taking to mercy no creature whoſoeuer.

The head tyrant cauſed to pare off the noſe and lips downe to the chin of a great number of Indians, yea, more then 200. (as is ſaid) ỹ they had cauſed to bee ſent for from a certaine borough, or it may bee came of their owne good will. And thus in this eſtate ſo rufull, and in theſe ſorrowes and anguiſhes of blood ſtreaming downe, they ſent them away: to the end they might go carry newes of the holy woorkes and myracles, which theſe preachers of the ſacred catholike faith, & baptiſed, had wrought.

Let it nowe bee iudged, what kinde of people theſe were, what loue they beare to the Chriſtians, and howe they doe beleeue that God is, whome they ſay to bee perfectly mercifull and righteous, and that the lawe and the religion, of the whiche they make profeſſion, and doe vaunt themſelues, is without blemiſh. The miſchiefes are exceeding ſore & ſtrange,

which those vngracious caytiues, children of perdition there committed. And thus the desperate and vnluckie Captayne dyed without confession: and we neede not to doubte but that he lyeth buried in hell: if algates God of his infinite mercy secretly dispensed in his hidden wisdome hath not preuented him, not dealing with him, after his demerites, in respect of his vngracions lewdnes.

Of the riuer of la Plata, that is to say, of siluer.

SIthence the yeere, one thousande fiue hundred, and two or three and twentie: certaine Captaines made three or foure voyages vppe the Riuer of Plata, where there are great Prouinces and Realmes, and nations well ordered and endued with vnderstanding. In generall we vnderstood, that they haue made there greate butcheries and inuasions: but like as this Countrie is farre discoasted from the Indies most famous, so we are not able, to quote the notablest points in particuler. Wee doubt no whit notwithstanding, but that they haue done and doe keepe as yet at this houre the same order of proceedings as hath beene kept, and are in other quarters: for they bee the selfesame Spaniardes, and there are amongest them of those same, whiche haue trauersed in other actes and exploites such as hath beene specified. Moreouer, they going thither, is to become riche and great Lordes as well as others: that which cannot bee done without spoyling, robbinge, slaying, and extirping the Indians, in maner and order holden by the others.

After the writing the abouesaid, I haue vnderstood, that of a truth, they haue wasted and dispeopled great Prouinces and Realmes in that Countrie, exercising strange slaughters & cruelties vpon these poore people there, for the whiche they haue abled themselues as forwarde in wickednesse, or forwarder then

any other, as hauing the commoditie by the greater distance frō Spaine, to sinne the freer, and by occasion ther of haue liued the more disordered and farthest off from iustice: howbeit that in all the Indies, there hath beene no regarde of Justice, as appeareth sufficiently, by that which hath beene aboue saide.

Amongest an infinite sort of other thinges wee reade at the counsell table for the Indies, these also which shall bee spoken of hereafter. A tyrant gouernour gaue in commande to certaine his bands to goe assault the Indians, and that if they gaue them not to eate they shoulde kill them al. They went armed wt this authoritie, And for because the Indians would giue thē none as being open enemies, more for feare of the sighte of them, as flying from them then for want of liberalitie, they put to the edge of the swoorde more then fiue thousande soules.

Item a certaine number of the folke of the Countrie came to put themselues into their handes, and presented them their seruice, whome at aduenture they had sent for: and for because they came not so soone, or for because they woulde after their accustomed fashion, engraue in them an horrible and astonishable terrour: the gouernour commaunded that they should put them into the handes of other Indians, whome they holde for their enemies: whereupon they came weeping and crying, and beseeching them that they woulde slay them, themselues, and not deliuer them into the power of their enemies, and hauing no mind to yeede out of their houses where they were, they were cut in peeces, crying, and saying: Wee come to serue you in peace, and do you slay vs? Our blood remaine imprinted on this wall, for a witnesse against you of our vniust death, and your barbarous crueltie. Certes, this was an act of speciall marke, worthie to be remembred, and much more to bee lamented.

Of the mightie Realmes, and large Prouinces of Peru.

IN the yeere 1531. went another great tyrant with certaine other consortes, to the Realmes of Peru, where entring with the same title and intention, and with the same proceedings as all the rest before gone, forasmuch as hee was one of them, which had of long time beene exercised in all kindes of cruelties and murders, which had beene wrought in the firme lande sithence the yeere one thousande fiue hundred, and ten, hee tooke encouragement to accrewe in cruelties, murders, & robberies: beeing a man without loyaltie and truth, laying waste Cities and Countries, bringing them to nought, and vtterly vndoeyng them by slaying the inhabitaunts, and beeing the cause of all the euils, whiche ensued in that Countrie: that I am right well assured, that there is not a man that can recounte them and represent them to the eyes of the Readers, as is requisite, vntill such time that wee shall see them and knowe them at the day of iudgement. As touching my self, if I woulde take vppon mee, to recounte the deformitie, qualitie and circumstances of some one, I were not able to decipher them, acording to that which is conuenient.

Hee flue and laide waste at his firste arriuall with a mischiefe certaine boroughes, from whome hee pillaged a greate quantitie of Golde. In an Iland neere to the same prouinces, named Pagna, well peopled and pleasant, the Lord thereof with his people receiued them as it had been Angels from heauen: and sixe monethes after, when as the Spaniche had eaten vppe all theyr prouision: They discouered also vnto them the corne whiche they kept vnder grounde, for them selues, their wiues, and their children, against a drie time and barren: making them offer of all, with teers plentiful, to spende and eate at theyr pleasure. The recompence in the ende whiche they made them, was, to put to the edge of the swoorde and launce, a great quantitie of those people. And those whom

whom they could take aliue, they made them slaues: with other cruelties great and notable which they committed, dispeopling as it were all that Ile.

From thence they make to the pronince of Tumbala, whiche is in the firme lande, where they slay and destroy as many as they coulde come by. And because all the people were fled as affrighted by their horrible actes, they sayde that they made an insurrection, and rebelled against the king of Spayne. This tyraunt had this policie, and kept this order of proceeding, that, vnto all those whom hee tooke, or vnto others which presented him with golde or siluer, or other thinges which they had: hee commaunded them to bring more, vntill such time as hee perceiued that either they had no more, or that they brought him no more. And then hee woulde say, that hee accepted them for the vassals and lieges of the kinge of Spaine, and made muche of them: and woulde cause it to bee proclaymed at sounde of two trompettes, that from thence forth they woulde take them no more, and that they woulde doe them no maner harme at all: setting it downe for good and lawfull, all that whatsoeuer hee had robbed from them.

And that hee put them in feare with newes so abhominable which hee spredde amongst them, before hee receiued them into the safegarde and protection of the king, as though that after they were receiued vnder the protection of the king, they woulde not oppresse them, robbe them, lay them waste and desolate any more, yea and as though he had not destroyed them.

A fewe dayes after, the king & Emperour of those realmes, named Atabaliba, came accompanied with a number of naked people, bearing their ridiculous armour, not knowing neyther howe swordes did carue, nor speares did pearce, nor horses did runne, nor who or what were the Spaniardes: who if the diuelles had any money, woulde set them selues in enquest to goe robbe them. Hee commeth to the place where they were, saying: Where are these Spaniardes? Let them come, I will not stirre a foote, till they satisfie mee for my subiectes whome they haue slayne, and my boroughs which they haue dispeopled, and for my wealth, which they haue bereeued mee.

The Spaniardes set against him, and slue and infinite sorte of his people: they tooke him also in person, who came caried in a litter born vpon mens shouldiers. They treat with him, to the ende that hee shoulde raunsome himselfe. The king offereth to performe foure millions of Castillans, and performeth fifteene, they promise to release him: notwithstanding in the ende, keeping nor faith nor trueth (as they neuer kept any in the Indies, vnto the Indians) they layed vnto his charge altogether vntruly, that by his commaundement the people assembled.

The king answered, that in all the countrey there mooued not a leafe of a tree, without his good will: that if there assembled any people, they were to beleeue that it was by his commaundement, and as touching himselfe that hee was prisoner, and they might slay him.

All this notwithstanding, they condemned him to bee brent aliue: but at the request of some certayne, the Captayne caused him to bee strangled: and beeing strangled, hee was burned.

This king vnderstanding his sentence, sayde: Wherefore will you burne mee? What trespasse haue I done yee? Did not you promise mee to set mee at libertie, if I gaue you the golde? and haue I not performed more then I promised? Seeinges you will needes haue it so? sende mee to your king of Spayne: speaking other thinges, to the great confusion and detestation of the great wrongfulnesse that the Spaniardes vsed, whom in the ende they burned. Here let be considered the right and title of this warfare, the imprisonment of this prince, the sentence, and the execution of his death, and the conscience, whereby they possesse great treasures, as in deed they haue robbed in those realmes from this king and other seuerall lordes infinite.

As touching the innumerable cruelties, and notable, for ỹ mischiefes and enormities withall committed in the rooting out of those peoples by them, who call them selues Christians: I will here rehearse some certayne, the which a fryer of S. Frauncis order sawe at the beginning, and the same certified vnder his name and signe: sending them into all those quarters, and amongst others into this realme of Castile, whereof I retayne a copie in my keeping in the which it is thus written:

I Frier Marke, of the order of Saint Frauncis, commiſſarie ouer the other friers of the ſame ſorder in the prouinces of Peru, and who was one of the firſt religious men, w̃ entred into the ſaide prouinces with the Spaniardes: doe ſay, bearing true teſtimonie of certayne things, the which I haue ſeene with mine eyes in that countrey, namely, concerning the entreating and conqueſtes made ouer the naturall inhabitaunts of the countrey: firſt of all, I am an eyed witneſſe, and haue certayn knoweledge, that thoſe Indians of Peru, are a people the moſt kinde hearted that hath been ſeen among all the Indians, beeing curteous in conuerſation, and friendly vnto the Spaniardes.

And I ſawe them giue to the Spaniſhe in abundaunce, golde, ſiluer, and precious ſtones, and all that was aſked them, and that they had, doing them all kinde of ſeruice lawfull. And the Indians neuer yeelded ſoorth to warre, but kept them in peace ſo long time, as they gaue them not occaſion, by their euill entreating of them and their cruelties, but contrariwiſe receiued them with all amitie and honour in their borroughes, in giuing them to eate, and as many ſlaues mankinde and women kind, as they demaunded for their ſeruice.

Item I am witneſſe, that without that the Indians gaue occaſion: the Spaniſh as ſoone as they were entred the lande, after that the greate Cacike Atabaliba, had giuen to the Spaniſh more then two millions of gold, and had put into their power the whole countrie without reſiſtance, incontinent they burned the ſaid Atabaliba which was Lord of the whole countrie.

And after him they brent his captayne generall Cochilimaca, who had come to the gouernour in peace with other Lords. In the like maner alſo a fewe dayes after they burned a great Lorde named Chamba, of the prouince of Quito, without any fault at all; and without hauing giuen the leaſt occaſion that might bee.

In like maner they burned vniuſtly Schappera Lorde of the Canaries. Alſo they brent the feete of Aluis a great Lorde amongſt all thoſe which were in Quito, and cauſed him to endure ſundrie other torments, to make him tell where was the gold of Atabaliba; of the whiche treaſure as it appeared, hee knewe nothing.

Also they brent in Quito Cosopanga, who was gouernour of all the prouinces of Quito, which vpon the request to him first made by Sebastian of Bernalcasar Captayne vnder the gouernour, was come to them in peace: and onely because hee gaue them not golde so much as hee demaunded of him, t hey burned him with very many other Caciks and principall Lords. And for ought that I can vnderstand, the intente of the Spaniards was, that there shoulde not bee lefte aliue one Lorde in the whole countrey.

Item I certifie, that the Spaniardes caused to assemble a great number of the Indians, and locked them vp in three great houses, as many as coulde be poyed in, and setting to fire, they burned them all, without that they had done the least thing that might bee, or had giuen to the Spanishe the least occasion thereof whatsoeuer. And it came to passe, that a priest, who is named Ocanna, drewe a young boy out of the fire, in the which hee burned, which perceiuing an other Spaniarde tooke from out of his handes the boy, and flunge him into the middest of the flames, where he was resolued into ashes together with others. The which Spaniarde returning the same day to the campe, fell downe dead suddenly, and mine aduice was hee should not bee buried.

Item I affirme, to haue seene with mine owne eyes, that the Spanishe haue cutte the handes, the noses, and the eares of the Indians, and of their women, without any other cause or purpose, saue onely that so it came into their fantasie, and that in so many places and quarters, that it shoulde bee too tedious to rehearse. And I haue seene, that the Spanishe haue made their Mastiues runne vpon the Indians to rent them in pieces. And moreouer, I haue seene by them brent so many houses, and whole boroughes, or townesshippes, that I am not able to tell the number. Also it is true, that they violently plucked the little infants from the mothers dugges, and taking them by the armes, did throwe them from them as farre as they coulde: Together with other enormities and cruelties without any cause, whiche gaue me astonishment to behold them, and woulde be to long to rehearse them.

Item,

Item, I sawe when as they sent for the Cacikes and other principall Indians, to come see them in peace, and assuraunce to them made, promising them safe conduct: and incontinent as they were arriued, they burned them. They burned two whiles I was present, the one in Andon, and the other in Tumbala: and I coulde neuer preuaile with them to haue them deliuered from burning, preached I vnto them neuer so muche. And in God and my conscience, for ought that euer I coulde perceiue, the Indians of Peru, neuer lift themselues vp, nor neuer rebelled for any other cause, but for the euill entreating of the other side, as is manifest vnto euery one, and for iust cause: the Spaniardes destroying them tyrannously against all reason and iustice, with al their countrey, working vpon them so many outrages, that they were determined to die, rather then to suffer much an other time.

Item I say, that by the report of the Indians themselues, there is yet more golde hidden then is come to light, the whiche because of the vniustices and cruelties of the Spaniardes, they woulde not discouer, neyther euer will discouer, so long as they shall bee so euyll entreated; but will chuse rather to die with their fellowes.

Wherein GOD our Lorde hath been highly trespassed agaynst, and the kinges Maiestie euill serued, hauing beene defrauded in that, that his highnesse hath loste suche a countrey, as hath been able to yeelde sustenaunce to all Castile: for the recouerie of which countrey, it will be a matter of great difficulty, dispence, and charges.

All these hitherto are the formall woordes of the sayde religious person: the which are also ratified by the Byshoppe of Mexico, which witnesseth that the reuerende father hath to his knowledge affirmed all the aboue saide.

It is heere to bee considered, that the good father sayeth, that he sawe those thynges. For that, that hee hath beene fiftie, or an hundred leagues vp into the countrey, for the space of niene or tenne yeeres, and that at the very beginning, when there were not as yet but very fewe of the Spaniardes: but at

the ringing of the golde, there were quickly gathered and flocked thither foure or fiue thouſande, which ſhedde them ſelues foorth ouer many great realmes and prounces, more then fiue hundred or ſixe hundred leagues, the whiche countrey hath beene throughly deſtroyed, they executing ſtill the ſelfe ſame practiſes, and others more barbarous and cruell.

Of a verrie from that day vnto this preſente, there hath beene deſtroyed and brought to deſolation moe ſoules then hee hath coumpted: and they haue with leſſe reuerence of GOD or the King, and with leſſe pittie then before, abolished a great part of the linage of mankinde.

They haue ſlayne vnto this day in theſe ſame realmes (and yet dayly they doe ſlay them) moe then foure millions of ſoules.

Certayne dayes paſſed, they pricked in ſhooting with dartes of reedes to death a mightie Queene, wife of Eling, who is yet King of that Realme, whom the Spaniardes by laying handes vpon him compelled to rebell, and in rebellion hee perſiſteth.

They tooke the Queene his wife, and ſo as hath beene ſayde, ſlue her againſt all reaſon and iuſtice, beeing greate with childe as ſhee was, as it was ſaid onely to vexe her huſband withall.

If it ſhoulde bee expedient to recounte the particularities of the cruelties and ſlaughters that the Spaniſhe haue committed, and yet dayly doe committe in Peru: without all doubt they ſhoulde bee ſo frightfull, and in ſo great number, that all that wee haue hitherto ſaide of the other partes of the Indies, woulde bee ſhadowed, and it woulde ſeeme a ſmall matter in the reſpecte of the grieuouſneſſe and greate number hereof.

Of the newe realme of Grenado.

VVIthin the yeere 1539. there tooke their flight together sundry tyrantes, flocking from Uenesuela, from Saint Martha, and from Carthagene, to search for the Perous: and there were also others which came downe from Peru it selfe to assay, to make a glade farther into the countrey: And they found from beyond S. Marthas and Carthagene, 300. leagues vp into the countrey, fertile landes, and admirable prouinces, full of infinite people, kinde hearted like the rest, and verye riche, as well of golde as of precious stones, which they call emeraldes.

Unto the whiche Prouinces they gaue the name of Newe Grenado: For because that the tyraunt whiche came first into this countrey, was a grenado, borne in our countrey. And for because that diuers wicked men and cruell of those whiche roaued ouer this parte, were notorious butchers, making it an occupation to shedde mans blood, hauing the practise and experience of the great fellonies afore mentioned in moste part of the other regions of the Indies: it is the cause why their diuelishe woorkes haue beene suche, and in so great number, whiche the circumstaunces doe make appeare so monstrous and odious, that they haue farre exceeded the others, yea all the gests that haue gone before, done by others, or by them selues in other Prouinces.

I will recounte some one or other of an infinite whereof they are guiltie, as doone by them within these three yeeres, and whiche yet they cease not to committe. That is, that a Gouernour, for as muche as hee whiche robbed and slewe in the newe Realme of Grenado, woulde not admitte him for consorte with him to robbe and slay as did hee: hee procured an enquirie, and thereby euidence came in agaynst

him with sundrie witnesses, vpon the fact of his slaughters, disorders, and murders which hee had done, and doeth as yet vnto this day, the processe of which enquirie, together with the euidences was read, and is kept in the recoydes of the counsell of the Indies.

The witnesses doe depose in the same enquirie, that the saide whole realme was in peace, the Indians seruing the Spaniards, giuing them to eate of their laboure, and labouring continually, and manuring the grounde, and bringing them muche golde and precious stones, suche as are emeraudes, and all that which they coulde and had: the townes, and the Lordeshippes, and the people being distributed amongst the Spaniardes euery one his share: which is all that they studie for, for that, that it is their meaneway to attayne to their last end and scope, to witte golde.

And all beeing subdued to their tyrannie and accustomed bondage, the tyrant the principall Captayne which commaunded ouer that countrey, tooke the Lorde and King of the countrey, and detayned him prisoner sixe or seuen monethes, exacting of him golde and emeraudes without cause or reason at all. The sayde king, who was named Bogata, for feare which they put him in, sayde that he woulde giue them an house full of gold: hoping that hee shoulde escape out of the handes of him whiche tormented him. And hee sent Indians which shoulde bringe him golde, and by times one after an other, they brought in a great quantitie of golde and precious stones. But because the king did not giue an whole house full of golde, the Spaniardes bid kill him: sithence that hee did not accomplishe that which he had promised.

The tyraunt commaunding that this king shoulde bee arraigned before him selfe: They sommon and accuse in this order the greatest king of all that countrey, and the tyraunt giueth sentence, condemning him to bee racked and tormented, if hee doe not furnishe forth the house full of golde.

They giue him the torture and the strapado with cordes: they flinge burnyng sewet vppon his naked belly: they lay

on.

on boltes vpon his feete, which were faſtened to one ſtake, and gyrd his neck faſt vnto another ſtake, two men holding both his handes, and ſo they ſet fire vnto his feete: and the tyrant, comming vp and downe, nowe and then, willeth him to haue his death giuen him by little and little, if hee made not readie the golde. Thus they diſpatched and did to death that noble Lord in theſe torments, during the execution whereof, God manifeſted by a ſigne, that thoſe cruelties diſpleaſed him, in conſuming with fire all the towne where they were committed. All the Spaniardes to the ende to followe their good Captaine, and hauing none other thing to doe, but to hackle in peeces thoſe poore innocents doe the like, tormenting with diuers and ſauage torments euery Indian, both Cacike or Lorde of euery people or peoples, with all their flocks, that were committed to their charges: thoſe ſaid Lordes with all their ſubiects ſeruing them, and giuing them golde and emerauds as many as they coulde, and as muche as they had: Tormenting them onely to the ende they ſhoulde giue them more golde, and rich myneralles: thus they hoyled and diſpatched all the Lordes of that Countrie,

For the great feare of the notorious cruelties, that one of the petie tyrants did vnto the Indians, there tranſported himſelfe vnto the mountaines, in flying ſo great crueltie, a great Lorde named Daytama, with many of his people. For this they holde for their laſt remedie and refuge, if it might haue preuailed them ought: and this the Spaniardes call inſurrection and rebellion. Which the Captaine head tyrant hauing knowledge of, he ſendeth ſupplie of ſouldiers vnto the ſaid cruel man: (for whoſe cruelties ſake, the Indians that were peaceable, and had endured great tyrannies and miſchiefes, were nowe gone into the mountaines:) to the ende hee ſhould purſue them. Who, becauſe it ſufficed not to hide them in the entrals of the earth, finding there a great multitude of people, ſlue and diſpatched thē, aboue 500. ſoules, what mē, what womē, for they receiued none to mercy. Alſo the witneſſes depoſe, that the ſaid Lord Daytama, before that the Spaniards put him to death, came to the cruell man, and brought him foure or fiue thouſand Caſtillans, the which notwithſtanding he was murdered as is aboueſaide.

Another time manie Indians beeing come to serue the Spaniardes, and seruing them with such humilitie and simplicitie, as they are accustomed to doe, reputing themselues assured: behold, the captaine of the towne where they serued, who commeth by night commaunding that those Indians should be put to the edge of the swoorde, when they had supped, and whiles that they were a sleepe, taking their rest after the toyle which they sustained the day time. And this hee did, for that it seemed him necessary to do this massacre, to the end to engraue an awe of himself in the heartes of all the peoples of that countrie.

Another time the captaine commaunded to take an othe of the Spaniardes, to wit, howe many euery one had in his seruice of the Caciks, and principall Lords, and Indiãs of the meaner sort: that incontinent they shoulde bee brought to the moste open place of the citie, where he commaunded that they shoulde be beheaded: thus were there at that time put to death a foure or fiue hundred soules.

Moreouer these witnesses depose concerning another of the petty tyrants, that he had exercised great cruelties in slaying, & chopping off the hands and noses of many persons, aswell men as women, and destroying very much people.

Another time the captaine sent the selfsame cruell man with certaine Spaniardes into the Prouince of Bogata, to bee informed by the inhabitants what Lorde it was, that was successour vnto the chiefe Lorde, whom he had made to die ẏ cruell death in those torments spoken of before: Who running along the countrie throughout sundrie places, tooke as many Indians as he could come by: And for that he could not learn of them, what he was that succeeded that Lorde, he mangled off some handes, he bid cast others, men and women vnto hungrie mastiues, who rend them in peeces. And in this maner haue been destroyed very many Indies, and Indesses. One time at the fourth watch of the night, he went to ouerrunne Caciks or gouernours of the lande, with many of the Indians, which were in peace, and helde themselues assured (for he had giuen them his faith, & assurance that they shoulde receiue no harme nor damage) vpon credit whereof,

wherof,they were come fooyth of their holes in the mountains, where they had been hid,to people the plaine,in the which stoode their citie: thus being commen without suspition,& trusting the assurance made,he tooke a great number,aswell men as wom̄e, and commanded to holde out their handes stretched against the ground,& himselfe with a woodknife cut of their hands, telling them that he did on them this chastisement,foy that they woulde not confesse,where their new Loyde was , which had succeeded in the charge of gouernement of the Realme,

Another time foy that the Indians gaue him not a cofer full of golde,that this cruel captaine required them:he sent men to warre vpon them : who cut off the handes and noses of men and women without number.They cast others befoye their dogs being hunger bitten,and vsed to the feate of feeding on flesh, the which dispatched and deuoured them.

Another time the Indians of that Realme perceiuing, that the Spaniards had byent 3.oy 4. of their pyincipall Loydes,they fled foy feare vp into a mountaine,from whence they might defende themselues against their enemies so estraunged from all humanitie. There were of them by the testimonie of the witnesses a foure oy fiue thousande Indians. This aboue saide Captaine sent a great and notable tyyant, which exceeded farre most of those to whom he had giuen the charge to ransacke and waste, together with a certaine number of Spaniardes, to the ende that they should chastise the Indian rebels : as they would seeme to make them foy that they were fled from a pestilence & slaughter so intollerable : and as though it apperteined vnto them,to chastice and punish them as malefactoys themselues in deede being woythie of all toyment without that any body should haue of them pitie oy compassion,being so deuoid thereof, as appeareth by the handling of those pooye innocents of that fashion. Well,so it is that the Spanish by foyce pyeuailed to get vppe to the mountaine : foy the Indians were naked without weapons. And the Spaniardes cryed peace vnto the Indians : assuring them, that they would do them no harme : and that they of their partes shoulde not war any longer.Streight way as the Indians stinted from their owne defense,the vile cruel man sent to ỹ

Spani.

Spaniardes to take the foxtes of the mountaine, and when they shoulde get them to enclose within them the Indians. They set then like vnto Tigers and Lions, vpon these lambes so meeke, and put them to the edge of the swoxde, so long that they were faine to bxeath and rest themselues. And after hauing rested a certaine season, the captaine commaunded that they shoulde kill and cast downe from the mountaine, the which was very highe, the residue that were aliue: that which was done. And these witnesses say, that they sawe as it were a cloude of the Indians cast downe from the mountaine, to the number by estimation of seuen hundxeth men together, where they fell battered to peeces.

And to atchieue all his great crueltie, they searched al the Indians that were hid amongst the bushes: and hee commaunded to cut of their heads, at blockes ends: and so they slue them and cast them downe the mountaine: yet coulde not hee content himselfe with those saide thinges so cruell, but that hee would make himselfe a litle better knowne, augmenting his hoxrible sinnes, when as hee commaunded that all the Indians men and womē, which some pxiuate persons had taken aliue (fox euery one in those massacres is accustomed to cull out some one ox other mankinde and womankind, to the ende to become his seruants) shoulde be put into a strawen house, sauing and reseruing those, which seemed necessarie to bee employed in their seruice, and that there shoulde be put to fire: thus were there burned fourty ox fiftie. Hee caused the rest to bee slong to the carrion kinde dogges, which rende them in peeces, and deuoured them.

Another time the selfe same tyxant went to a Citie called Cotta, and tooke there a great number of Indians, and caused to be dismembxed by his dogs, a fifteene ox twentie Lords of the pxincipal, and cut the handes of a great multitude of men & women: which saide handes hee hanged one by another on a pole, to the ende the other Indians might see that, which he had done vnto them. There were so hanged one by another thxeescoxe and ten payxe of hands. He slysed off besides from many women and childxen their noses.

No creature liuing and reasonable, is able to decipher the

mischiefes

miſchiefes and cruell dealings of this fellowe, enemie of God. For they are without number, neuer otherwiſe hearde of, nor ſeene: thoſe, I meane, which he hath done in the lande of Guatimala, and all about where he hath become, for there are a good many yeres paſſed, in the which he hath bene profeſſed in the miſterie, to bereaue that land, & thoſe people.

The witneſſes say for a ſurcharge, that the cruell dealings & ſlaughters which haue beene committed, and are yet in the ſaide Realme of new Grenado, by the captaines themſelues in perſon and by their conſents giuen vnto all the other tyrants, waſters, and weeders of the nature of man, which were in his company, and the which hath laid all the countrie wilde & waſte, are ſuche and ſo exceſſiue, that if his maieſtie doe not take ſome order therein in ſome time (albeit that the ſlaughter and diſcomfiture of ỹ Indians is done only to bereaue thẽ of their gold, the which they haue none of, for they haue ſurrendred all that which they had) they wil in a ſhort time make an end of them ſo in ſuch ſort, that there will bee no more Indians to inhabite the lande, but that it wyll remaine in a wilderneſſe without beeing manured.

May, wee muſt note heere the cruell and peſtilent tyrannie of theſe curſed tyrants, howe raging and diueliſh it hath beene, that in the ſpace of two or three yeeres, ſithence that this realme hath bene firſt diſcouered (which as they ſay both thoſe that haue been there, and thoſe which depoſe as witneſſes, was the moſte peopled of inhabitantes, as poſſiblie might bee any Countrie in the worlde,) they haue raſed and emptied it with ſlaughters, declaring themſeues ſo farre remooued from pittie, and the reuerent feare of God and the Prince, that the opinion is, without the preſent ſuccour of his Maieſty, to ſtay theſe vnnatural & diueliſh tyrannies, there wil not remaine as muche as one man aliue, & I verily beleue it. For I haue ſeen with mine own eyes that in theſe parts, they haue deſtroyed and diſpeopled in a ſmall time, great countries.

There are other great Prouinces, which bounde vpon the ſaide Realme, of newe Grenado, which they call Popayan and

Cali, and three or foure others, which containe more then 500. leagues of ground, which they haue destroyed and desolated in the same maner, as they haue done others, robbing and slaying with torments, and the enormities afore spoken of. For the land is very fertile, and those that come from thence now dayly, doe report, ỹ it is a rufull thing to see so manie goodly townes burned and layd desolate, as they might behold passing by & downe that way: so as there, where there was wont to be in one towne a thousand or two thousand householdes, they haue not founde fiftie, and the rest vtterly ransacked and dispeopled. And in some quarters they haue found two or three hundred leagues of lande dispeopled and burned, & great cities destroyed. And finally, by that, that si thence into the Realmes of Peru, of the Prouince side of Quito, are entred farre into the Countrie sore and fel tyrants, as far as to the said Realme of Grenado, & of Popayan, & of Cali by the coast of Carthagene, and Araba, & other accursed tyrants of Carthagene haue gone to assault Quito, and more ouer, afterwards of the riuer side of S. Iohn, which is on ỹ south side, all the whiche haue met to ioyne handes together in this exployte: they haue rooted out and dispeopled aboue fiue hundred leagues of land, with the losse of an infinitie of soules, doing still the selfe same to the poore wretches that remain behind, howsoeuer innocent they appeare to be.

Thus then is the rule which I set down at the beginning, by them verified: that is, that the tyrannie, rage, and vngraciousnesse of the Spanishe, hath alwayes proceeded encreasing in their crueltie, vnnaturalnesse, and mischiuousnes amongst those so sweete lambes. That which is continued at this present day in those Prouinces, amongst other their doings worthy the fire and torment, is this which followeth.

After the ends of the slaughters and massacres of the warres, they bring the people into the horrible bondage aboue saide, and giue them to the commaundment of Diuels, to one an hundred Indians, to another three hundred. The cõmaunder Diuel commandeth, that there come before him an hundred Indians, which incontinent present themselues like lambes. He causing a forty or fiftie amongest them to haue their heads cut off: saith vnto the other there present, I will serue you of the same sauce, if you

doe not mee good seruice, or if so be, that you goe out of my sight without my leaue.

That for the honour of God, all they that haue read this peece of worke, or shall giue it a reading, consider nowe, whether this act, so hideous, fell and vnnatural, doe not exceede all crueltie and iniquitie, that may bee imagined, and whether the Spaniardes haue any wrong offered them when a man calleth them Diuels, & whether were better, to giue the Indiãs to keep to the diuels in hel, or the Spaniards which are at the Indies.

After this I will rehearse another diuelish part, the which I cannot tell whether it be lesse cruell & deuoide of manhood, then are those of sauage beastes: that is, that the Spanish which are in the Indies, doe keepe certaine dogges most raging, taught and trayned wholy to the purpose, to kill and rende in peeces the Indiãs. That let all those þ are true christians, yea, and also those which are not so, behold, if euer there were the like thinge in the whole worlde: that is, to feed those dogs, they led about w̃ them whersoeuer they goe a great nũber of Indians in chaines as if they were hogs, and kill them, making a shambles of mans flesh. And the one of them will say to another, Lend mee a quarter of a villaine, to giue my dogs some meate, vntill I kyll one nexte, altogether as if one shoulde borrowe a quarter of an hog or mutton. There bee others which goe foorth a hunting in the morning with their curres, the which being returned to eat, if another aske him: Howe haue yee sped to day, they answere, very well: for I haue killed with my dogs to day, fiftee ne or twentie viliacoes. All these Diabolicall doings, with others like haue beene proued in the sutes of law, that the tyrants haue had one of them against another. Is there any case more ouglie or vnnaturall?

I will here now depart me of this discourse, vntill such time, þ there come other newes of things, in vngraciousnes more notorious and remarkable (if it so be, þ there can be any more greeuous) or vntill such time as wee may returne thither to beholde them our selues anewe, as wee behold them for the space of 42. yeeres continually with mine owne eyes: Protesting in a good conscience before God, that I doe beleeue, and I holde it for

certaine, that the damages and losses are so great, with the destructions and ouerthrowes of Cities, massacres and murders, with the cruelties, horrible and ougly, with the rauins, iniquities and robberies, all the which things haue beene executed amongest those people, and are yet dayly committed in those quarters: that in all the things, which I haue spoken and deciphered, as I was able the neerest to the truth: I haue not saide one of a thousande, of that which hath beene done, and is dayly a doyng at this present, be it that you consider the qualitie, or bee it, that ye consider the quantitie.

And to the end that all Christians haue the greater compassion of those poore innocents, and that they complaine with mee the more their perdition and destruction, and that they detest the greedinesse, loftinesse, and felnesse of the Spanish: that all doe holde it for a most vndoubted veritie, with all that hath beene aboue saide, that sithence the first discouery of the Indies vntyll nowe, the Indians neuer did harme vnto the Spanishe in any place whersoeuer, vntill suche time, that they firste receiued wrongs and iniuries, being robbed and betrayed: but indeede did repute them to be immortall, supposing them to bee descended from heauen, and they receiued them for suche, vntill suche time as that they gaue it forth manifestly to be knowen by their doings, what they were, and whereto they tended.

I will adioyne heerevnto this, that from the beginning vnto this houre, the Spaniardes haue had no more care to procure that vnto those people shoulde bee preached the faith of Jesus Christe, then as if they had been curre dogs, or other beastes: but in lieu thereof, which is much worse, they haue forbidden by expresse meanes the religious men to doe it, for because that that seemed vn to them an hinderance likely to bee, to the getting of their golde, and these riches which their auarice foreglutted in. And at this day there is no more knowledge of God throughout the Indies, to wit, whether hee bee of tymber, of the ayre, or the earth, then there was an hundred yeeres agoe, excepting newe Spaine, whether the religious men haue gone, which is but a litle corner of the Indies: and so are they perished, and doe perishe all without faith, and without sacraments.

I brother

I Brother Bartholomewe delas Casas or Casaus, religious of the order of S. Dominicke, which by the mercie of God am come into this courte of Spayne, to sewe that the hell might bee withdrawen from the Indes, and that these innumerable soules, redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, shoulde not perishe for euermore without remedie, but that they might knowe their creator and bee saued: also for the care and compassion that I haue of my countrey, which is Castile, to the ende that God destroy it not for the great sinnes thereof, committed against the fayth and his honour, and against our neighbours: for certaine mens sakes notablie zealous of the glory of God, touched with compassion of the afflictions and calamities of others, followers of this court: howebeit, that I was purposed to do it, but I could not so soone haue done it, because of my contynuall occupations, I atchieued this treatise and summarie at Ualencia, the 8. of December, 1542. the force beeing mounted to the highest type of extremitie, and all the violences, tyrannies, desolations, anguishes, and calamities abouesayde, spread ouer all the Indies, where ther are any Spaniardes, although they bee more cruell in one part then they bee in an other, and more sauage, and more abhominable.

Mexico and her confines are lesse euill intreated. In truth, there they can not execute their outrages openly, for that there and not elsewhere, there is some forme of iustice, as slender as it is. For because that there also they kill them with diuelishe tributes: I am in good hope, that the Emperour and King of Spayne, our liege Soueraigne Lorde, don Charles the fifte of that name, who beginneth to haue vnderstanding of the mischieues and treasons that there haue been, and are committed against those poore people, against the will of God, and his owne, (for they haue alwayes cunningly concealed the trueth from him) will roote out those euilles, and take some order for this newe worlde that God hath giuen him, as vnto one that loueth and doeth iustice: whose honour and prosperous estate Imperiall, God almightie vouchsafe to blesse with long life, for the benefite of his whole vniuersall Church, and to the saluation of his

owne royall ſoule. Amen.

After hauing couched in writing the premiſſes, I vnderſtood of certayne lawes and ordinaunces, whiche his Maieſtie hath made about this time at Barcellone, Anno. 1542. in the moneth of Nouember, and the yeere following at Madrill: by the which ordinaunces, there is order ſet downe, as the caſe them ſeemeth to require: to the end, to cut off the miſcheiefues and ſinnes whiche are committed againſt God and our neighbours, tending to the vtter ruine & perdition of this new world. His Maieſtie hath made theſe lawes, after hauing holdē many aſſemblies of perſons of authoritie, of learning and conſcience, and after hauing had diſputations and conferences in Valladolyd: and finally with the aſſent and aduiſe of al thoſe others which haue giuen their aduiſe in writing, and haue been founde neereſt approching vnto the law of Jeſus Chriſt, and withall free from the corruption and ſoyle of the treaſures robbed from the Indians: the which treaſures haue ſoyled the handes and much more the ſoules of many, ouer whom thoſe treaſures and auarice haue got the maiſterie, and where hence hath proceeded the blinding, which hath cauſed ſo to marre all without remorſe. Theſe lawes being publiſhed, the creatures of thoſe tyrantes, who then were at the court, drew out ſundrie coppyes thereof (for it grieued them at the hearts: for that it ſeemed them that thereby there was a doore ſhut vp vnto them againſt their rauine and extortion afore rehearſed) and diſperſed them into diuers quarters of the Indies. Thoſe which had the charge to robbe, roote out, and conſume by their tyrannies, (euen as they had neuer kept any good order but rather diſorder, ſuch as Luſifer himſelfe might haue helde) as they read thoſe copies before the new iudges might come to execute their charge, knowing it (as it is ſayd, and that very crediblie) by thoſe who vntill this time haue ſupported and mayntayned their crimes and outrages, to be likely that ſuch execution ſhoulde bee vſed of thoſe laws: they ran into a mutinie in ſuch wiſe, as that when the good Iudges were come to doe their duties, they aduiſed with them ſelues (as thoſe which had loſt the feare and loue of God) to caſt off alſo all ſhame, and obedience which they owe to the king, and ſo tooke vnto them the name of open and arrant

tray-

traytours, behauing them ſelues as moſt cruell and graceleſſe tyrantes: and principally in the realme of Peru, where preſently this yeere 1442. are committed actes ſo horrible and frightfull, as neuer were the like, neither in the Indies, nor in all the worlde beſides, not onely againſt the Indians, the which all or in a maner all are ſlayne, all thoſe regions being diſpeopled: but alſo betwixt themſelues by a iuſt iudgement of God, who hath permitted that they ſhoulde bee the butchers one of an other of them. By meanes of the ſuppoꝛt of this rebellion, none of all the other partes of this newe worlde would obey thoſe lawes: But vnder colour of making ſupplication to his Maieſtie to the contrary, they haue made an inſurrection aſwell as the others. For that it irketh them to leaue their eſtates and goodes whiche they haue vſurped, and to vnbinde the handes of the Indians, whome they detayne in a perpetuall captiuitie. And there where they ceaſe to kill with the ſwoꝛde, redily and at the inſtant, they kill them a little and a little, by perſonall ſlaueries, and vniuſt charges and intollerable. That which the king could not hitherunto let: foꝛ becauſe that they all, great and litle, roue and robbe, ſome moꝛe, ſome leſſe: ſome ouertly, and ſome couertly, and vnder the pretence of ſeruing the king: diſhonour God, and rob the king.

The Authour his wordes farder to *king Philip, then at the time of* writing thereof, Prince of *Spayne.*

THat which followeth hereafter immediatly: is a part of a Miſſiue or letter ſent, written by one, who him ſelfe was a partie in theſe voiages: recounting the works the which a captayne did, and conſented to the dooing in the countrey, all the way as hee paſſed. And albeit ſo, that the ſaide miſſiue being put to binding in one booke with other papers, the binder eyther forgot, or loſt a leafe or two: notwithſtanding, foraſmuth as the ſaid miſſiue contayned things fearefull, euen to aſtoniſhement, the which one of them that had done them had giuen me: and that I had them all in my keeping: I thought good to preſent you therwithall, ſuch as it is nowe, though without beginning or ending. For that this fragment remayning of the whole, is full of notable pointes: and therefore being reſolued that it ſhoulde bee ſo printed, truſting that it will cauſe no leſſe compaſſion and horror in your highneſſe minde, then the other matters afore mentioned, with a deſire forthwith to prouide for the redreſſe.

The Miſſiue.

HEe gaue licence to put them to the Chaine and in bondage: That which they did: and the Captayne led after him three or foure droues of theſe perſons enchayned: and in this doing, he procured not ỳ the countrey ſhoulde bee inhabited and peopled (as had been conuenient ſhoulde haue been

been done) but robbing from the Indians all their victuals they had, the inhoynes of the countrey were reduced to suche an extremitie, that there were founde great numbers dead of famine in the high wayes. And the Indians comming and going too and fro the coast, laden with the carriage of the Spaniardes, hee was the death by these meanes of about ten thousande. For not one that arriued at the very coast escaped death: by reason of the excessiue heate of the countrey.

After this following the same tract and way, by the whiche Iohn of Ampudia was gone, hee sent the Indians which hee had purchased in Quito, a day before him, to the ende they should discouer the bourges of the Indians, and shoulde pillage them, that when hee came with his maynie, hee might finde his bootie readie.

And those Indians were his owne mates: of the whiche such a one had two hundred, such a one three hundred, and suche a one a hundred: according to the baggage that euery one of them had: which Indians came to yeelde them selues to their maisters with all ỹ they had robbed. At doing whereof they committed great cruelties towarde young children and women: and so had hee vsed before to doe in Quito, in burning the whole countrey, and namely the garners where the Lordes kept their Mahis in prouision.

Hee suffered to bee done great outrages, in slaying the sheepe with the which they nourished and entertayned for the most part, both the Spanishe, and the naturall inhabitauntes of the countrey. And onely to haue the haynes and the sewet, hee permitted that there shoulde bee killed two or three hundred wethers, of the whiche the flesh was fayne to bee cast away. And the Indians friendes to the Spaniardes, and the whiche went with the Spaniardes, onely to eate the sheepes hearts, killed a great number, for as much as they eate none other thing.

And two men in one prouince, named Purua, killed 25. wethers and sheep fit for carriage like our horse, & the which were worth amongst the Spaniardes twentie, and fiue and twentie duckates a peece, only to haue to eate the haines, and the sewet. So as by this disorder of exceeding slaughter of beastes, haue

been lost aboue an hundred thousande head of cattell. By occasion whereof also, the countrey came into a great necessitie : the natiue of the lande miserablie dying of famine. And Quito, which was furnished of so great store of Mahis, that it can not bee well spoken: was by this meanes so assaulted with famaine, that a strike or bushell of Mahis, was raysed to the prise of 10. duckets, and a sheepe to as muche.

After that the sayde Captaine was returned from the coast, hee determined to depart from Quito, and to goe seeke the Captayne Iohn de Ampudia, leauing thereto moe then two hundred of foote men and horse men, amongst whome were a great many inhabitauntes of the citie of Quito. Unto those inhabitaunts the captaine gaue licence to carrie with them the Cacikes, that were escheated them in sharing, with as many Indians as they would. That which they did : and Alfonso Sanches Nuita caried forth with him his Cacike, with moe then an hundred Indians besids: and in like maner Peter Cibo and his cousin: and they led out moe then an hundred and fiftie with their wiues: and sundrie also sped out their children, because that in a maner euery one died for hunger. Also Moran inhabitant of Popaian, caried out moe then two hundred persons. And the like did all the rest, citizens and souldiers, euery one after his abilitie: the souldiers crauing that they might haue licence giuen them to captiue those Indians men and women, which they carried forth : the which was graunted vnto them vntyll the death of the sayde captiues, and those deceased, to take as many more: for if the Indians were subiectes of his Maiestie, so likewise were the Spaniardes that died in the warres as well as they.

And after this maner departed the sayde Captayne of Quito, going to a citie called Otaba, the which he held at that houre for his share: and demanded of the Cacike, that there shoulde bee giuen him fiue hundred men to lead to the warres : which were giuen him with certayne principall persons of the Indians. Hee departed some of those people amongst his souldiers, and ledde forth the rest with him, some laden, and some chayned, and some vnbounde to serue him, and to bring him meate.

Thus

Thus carried hee his souldiers some pinniond in chaynes, and some in coardes. When they departed out of the Prouince of Quito, they carried out moe then fiue thousande Indians, men and women, and of al those there neuer returned home into their countrey twentie persons. For they dyed all thorough the great and excessiue trauell, which they made them endure in those broiling countreys contrary to their nature. It happened at that tyme that one Alfonso Sanches, whom the saide Captayne sent for chieftayne ouer a certayne number of men into a Prouince there, met with a good company of women, and young boyes laden with victuals: who stayed wayting for them without moouing from the place to giue them of that which they had, and hauing so done, the captaine commaunded that they should bee put to the sharpe of the sworde. There happened here a maruailous thing: which was, that a souldier striking an Indesse woman, his sworde brake a two in the middest, at the first blowe, and at the seconde blowe there remayned nought in his handes, but the pomell hauft without that the woman was hurt. And an other souldier, willing to strike another Indesse woman, with a square dagger he had, the dagger brake at the first choppe, the length of foure fingers, and at the seconde, there remayned vnto him no more saue the hauft.

At the same tyme the sayde Captayne yeeded foorth of Quito, and drewe out a great number of the naturall inborones, vnmarryng them, and giuing their young wiues vnto his Indians whom hee ledde along, and the others wiues hee gaue to others which remayned in the citie, for that they were too olde.

There followed out of Quito a woman with a litle childe in her armes, crying after him, and entreating him, that her husbande might not bee forced to goe with him, for that shee had three little children, the whiche shee coulde not nourishe but were ready to dye for hunger:

And as the Captayne gaue her a churlishe answere at her first suite, shee returned the seconde time with greater cries, saying, that her children dyed for hunger.

And seeing that the Captayne gaue her the repulse, and that hee woulde not restore her, her husbande: shee beat the childes head agaynst the stones, and slue it.

It came to passe also, that at the tyme that the sayde Captayne came into the prouice of Lili, to a towne called Paloneere vnto the great riuer, where hee founde the Captayne Iohn de Ampudia, which was gone before to discouer, and pacifie the countrey: the saide Ampudia kepte a citie by him prouided of a garriso in the name of his maiesty, and of the marques Frauncis of Pizarro: and had set ouer them for gouernours ordinarie, one Petre Solano of Quennoues, and 8. counsellours, & all the rest of the countrey was in peace & shared out amongst them. And as he knew that the sayd captaine was in the said riuer, he came to see him with a great number of the inhabitantes of the countrey, and peaceful Indians, laden with victuals and fruites. Shortly after also all the neighbour Indians came to see him, bringing him food. There were the Indians of Tamundi, and of Palo, and of Soliman, and of Bolo.

Nowe because that they brought no Mahis which he would haue, hee sent a great number of Spaniardes with their Indians, to go search for Mahis: commaunding them to bring somewhersoeuer they founde any. So went they to Bolo, and to Palo, and founde the Indians men and women in their houses in peace: and the sayd Spaniards with those that were with them, tooke them and robbed their Mahis, their golde and couerings, and all that they had, and bounde many.

The Indians seeing that they entreated them so euill, went to complaine vnto the sayde Captayne, requesting that all which had been bereft them, might be restored them: But the Captain woulde restore them none, and forbidde them to come at him any more. Notwithstanding foure or fiue dayes after the Spaniardes eftsoones returne to fetche Mahis, and to pillage the Indians native of the soyle as before time. Wherefore, they seeing that the Captayne kepte no faith with them: all the Countrie arose and reuolted from the Spanishe, whereof ensued greate dammage, and GOD and the

kings maiestie offended: and by this meanes the countrie remained dispeopled: for ẏ the Olomas & the Manipos their enemies which are moũtaine people, & warlike, descended dayly to take and rob them, when they perceiued the citie and places of their abode left destitute. And amongst them, hee who was the stronger, did eate vp his fellowe, for all dyed for famine. This done, the captaine came to the citie of Ampudia, where hee was receiued for generall, and seuen dayes after from thence hee departed to goe towards the harbour of Lili and Peti, with more then two hundred horsmen and footemen. After this, that saide is, the saide chiefe gouernour sent his captaines of one side and other, to bid cruell battayle to the natiue Indiãs: slaying a great number of them as wel men as women; burning also their houses, and spoling their goods. This indured a good many dayes. And the saide captaine was gone towardes a citie named Yce, withall the Indians whome they had taken in Lili, without releasing any one: and beeing come to the saide Yce, hee sent incontinent Spaniardes to pilladge, take and slay all the Indians men and women, that they coulde take: thus they burned moe then an hundred. From this place they goe to a Citie called Tukilicui, from whence the Cacike of the place yeeded foorth incontinent in peace, a number of Indians going before him. The captaine demaunded golde of him and of his Indians. The Cacik told him that hee had but a small deale, and that whiche he had should be giuen him: & immediatly al began to giue him all that they had. Whereupon the sayde captaine gaue vnto euery of them a ticket, with the name of the saide Indian for a testimoniall that hee had giuen him golde: affirming that hee which shoulde haue neuer a ticket, should bee cast to the dogs to bee deuoured, because hee gaue him no golde. Whereupon the Indians for feare ẏ they were put in, gaue him all the gold that they were able: & those which had none fled into the mountaines and other townes for feare to be slaine. By reason whereof perished a great number of the natiue inhabitants of the coũtrie. And shortly after the said captaine commanded the Cacike to sende two Indians to another citie named Dagna, to will them that they shoulde come in peace, and bring him golde in a-

bundance. And comming to another citie, he sent that night many Spaniardes to take the Indians, and namely of Tulilicui. So as they brought the next morrow aboue an hundred persons: and all those which could beare burdens, they tooke them for thẽselues, and for their souldiers, and put them to the chaine, whereof they dyed all. And the saide captaine gaue the little children vnto the said Cacik Tulilicui that hee should eate them: and in truth the skinnes of those children are kept in the house of the saide Cacik Tulilicui full of ashes: and so departed hee from thence without an interpreter, and went towardes the Prouinces of Calile, where he ioyned himselfe vnto the captaine John de Ampudia, who had sent him to discouer another way, dooing both of them great outrages, and much mischiefe vnto the inhabitants of the countrie where they became. And the said John de Ampudia came vnto a Citie, the Cacik and Lorde whereof called Bitacur had caused to make certaine ditches to defende himselfe, and there fell into the same two horses, the one of Antonie Rodondos, the other of Marc Marquesis. That of Marcos Marquis died, the other not. For which cause the said Ampudia commaunded to take all the Indians men and women that might be: And therupon tooke & laid together more then an hundred persons, whome they cast aliue into those ditches and slue them, and brent withal more then an hundred houses in the said citie. And in that maner met in a great Citie, where without sommoning (the Indians being at peace, and without anye spokesman to goe betweene them,) they slue with their speares a great number of them, making on them mortall warre. And as it is said, soone after they were met, the saide Ampudia tolde the Captaine what hee had done in Bitaco, and howe hee cast so many into the ditches: and the sayd captaine aunswered, that it was well done, and that he for his part had done as much at the riuer of Bamba when hee entred the same, which is in the Prouince of Quito, and that hee had flong into the ditches moe then two hundred persons, and there they stayed warring on all the countrie. Soone after hee entred into the Prouince of Bitu, or Anzerma: in making cruell warre with fire and blood till they came

came as farre as vnto the ſalt houſes. And from thence hee ſent Frauncis Garcia before him to pilladge, who made cruel warre on the naturall inhabitants of the Countrie as hee had done before him. The Indians came vnto him two and two, making ſignes, that they demaunded peace on the behalfe of the whole Countrie: alleadging that they woulde afoord him, all that hee coulde reaſonably demaund, were it golde, or women, or victuals, only that they woulde not kill them, as indeede it was a troth. For themſelues afterwardes confeſſed it to be ſo. But the ſaide Frauncis Garcia, bid them get them packing: Telling them moreouer that they were a ſort of drunkardes, and that he vnderſtood them not, and ſo returned hee to the place where the ſaide Captaine was, and they made a complot, to ouerrunne all the Prouince, making cruell warre on all the Countrie, in ſpoiling, robbing, and ſlaying all: and with the ſouldiers, which hee brought with him drewe thence moe then two thouſand ſoules, and all thoſe dyed in the chaine. Before departing the place which he had peopled, they ſlue moe then fiue hundred perſons. And ſo returned to the Prouince of Calili. And by the way if any Inde or Indeſſe were weary, in ſuch ſort that they could not paſſe any further, they did incontinently head them, paring it off from the ſhoulders euen with the chaine, to the ende not to take the paines to open the locke thereof: and to the end that others which went the ſame way ſhoulde not make wiſe to be ſicke, and by this meanes dyed they all: and in the high wayes were leſte all thoſe people which he made his purchaſe of out of Quito, & of Paſto, and of Quilla Cangua, and of Para, and of Popayan, and of Lili, and of Cali, and of Anzerma, and a great number of people dyed. Alſo immediately vpon their returne vnto the great Citie, they entred into it, ſlaying all that they could: taking in that day moe then three hundreth perſons.

Hee ſent from the Prouince of Lili, the ſaide Captaine Iohn de Ampudia, with very manye ſouldiers vnto the lodgynges and peopled places of Lili: to the ende that they ſhoulde take all the Indes and Indeſſes they coulde: And that they ſhoulde bring them vnto him to ſerue for loadyng:

for

for because that al those which he brought him before time from Anzerma & from Alli, were dead, whiche were great numbers. And the saide John de Ampudia brought moe then a thousande persons, and slue very many. The captaine thus tooke as many as he needed to serue his turne, and gaue the rest vnto the souldiers, which confined them to the chayne in whiche they dyed. So dispeopling the said citie of Spaniardes and inbornes of the countrie, both in so great a number, as appeareth by the fewnesse of the folke, that are remanent: he departed thence to goe to Popayan, & left in the way a Spaniarde named Martine Aguirr, who was not able to follow the rest. And beeing come to Popayan, he placed there a garrison, and began to root out and rob those Indians there, in the order that he had kept elswhere. And hee erected there a mynt royall, melting all the golde hee coulde come by, with all that, that John de Ampudia had before he came vnto him, and without keeping any other audit or reckoning, and without giuing any part to any souldier, taking the whole to his owne vse, except a little as came in his head to giue vnto such as had lost theyr horses. And this done, bereauing the kings Maiestie of his fift part, said he went to Cusco, there to giue in his account and audit vnto the gouernour. But in deede he went to Quito, taking by the way very many Indians, men and women, which all dyed by the way, or at the place at Quito. Ouer and besides that, he altered the coyne royall of the mynt, which he had made. Here is to be remembred a word, which this man spake of himselfe, as one not ignorant of so many euils and mischieues, which he wrought. Fiftie yeres hence, those the which shall passe by this way, and heere speake of these things, shall say, This way went a Tyrant

Your highnes may know and be well assured, that these entries and assaults made vnto these realmes, and this maner of visiting the Indians, which liued in securitie in their regions, and the vngraciousnesse which he did in those same, haue been practised and executed by the Spaniards, which haue alwayes followed the same traine and maner of doing, from the time that they first began to discouer vnto this present day, throughout all the Indes.

To the Reader.

AMong diuers the remedies by Fryar *de las Casas* Bishop of the royal towne called *Chiapa*, propounded in the assembly of sundrie prelates named Parsons, by his maiesties cõmandement gathered together in the towne of *Valladolid* the yeere of our Lord 1542 for order and reformation to bee obserued in the Indies: the eight in order was this insuing, which consisteth vpon twentie reasons & motions, whereupõ he did cõclude, *That the Indies ought not to be giuen to the Spaniardes in Commendam, fee farme, or vasselage, neither vnder any other title whatsoeuer: if his maiestie will according to his desire ease them of such tyrannies and losses as they doe susteine, deliuering them as it were out of the Dragons throate: least they doe wholy consume and slay thẽ, & so all that world remaine desart & voide of the naturall inhabitants, wherewith we haue seene it replenished.*

THe eight remedie, is among all other principall and most in force, as without which all the rest are to no purpose, for that they all haue relatio n therunto, as euery motion to his proper end, in whatsoeuer toucheth or is of any importaunce vnto your Maiestie, which no man can expresse: in as much as therupon dependeth at the least the whole losse or preseruation of the Indies. And the remedie that I speake of is this, that your Maiestie do determin, decree, cõmand, & solénely in your soueraigne courts ordein by pragmaticall sãctions & royal statuts, ỹ all the Indies aswell alreadie subdued, as heereafter to bee subdued, may bee inserted, reduced, and incorporate into the royal crowne of *Castile & Leon*, to be holden in chief of your maiestie as free subiects & vassals, as they are. Likewise that they bee not giuen in *commendã* vnto the Spaniards: but that it stand as an inuiolable constitution, determination and royall lawe, that they neuer, neither at this time, neither hereafter in time to come, may bee

alienated or taken from the saide royall crown, neither that they beegiuen, commanded, demised in fee farme, by depost, commandement or alienatiõ, either vnder any other title or maner whatsoeuer, and bee dismembred from the royall crowne, for any whatsoeuer the seruice or desart of any, either vpon any necessitie that may happen, or for any cause or colour whatsoeuer that may be pretended. For the inuiolable obseruation, or establishement of which law, your maiestie shall formally sweare by your faith, and on your worde and royall crowne; and by all other sacred thinges, whereby Christian Princes doe vsually sweare, that at no time neither your selfe, neither your successours in these 10. Dominions, or in the Indies so farre as in you shall lie, shal reuoke the same: and you shall further set downe in expresse wordes in your royall will and testament, that this decree be euer kept, maintained, and vpholden: also that so farre as in your self or in them shal lie, they shall cõfirme and continue the same: And for porose of the necessitie hereof, there bee twentie reasons to be alleadged: out of which twentie we haue drawen and put in writing so many as may seeme to serue to our purpose.

Extract out of the second reason.

THe Spaniardes through their great auarice and couetousnes to get, doe not permit any religious persons to enter into their townes and holdes which they possesse, alleadging that they receiue double losse by them. One and the principall is, that religious persons do keepe the Indies occupied when they gather them togethar to their Sermons, so as in the meane time their worke is omitted, while the Indians being idle, labour not: yea, it hath so fallen out, that the Indians being in the Church at the Sermon, the Spaniarde comming in in the face of all the people, hath taken fiftie, or a hundred, or so many as he hath needed to carry his baggage and stuffe, and such as would not goe, he hath loden with stripes spurning them foorth with his feete, thereby to the great griefe both of the Indians and of the religious persons troubling & molesting all that were present, & so defeating thẽ al of the benefit of their saluatiõ. Their other hinderance that

they

they say they doe sustaine, is, that after the Indians are taught & become Christians, they take vppon them as masters, pretending more knowledge then they haue, & therefore will not be so serviceable as afore.

The Spaniards require no more of the Indians but authority to commaund them, and that they worship them as Gods.

The Spaniards openly and of set purpose, do hinder the course of the gospel, and keepe the Indians from Christendome.

Sometime it falleth so out, that a towne or borow is giuen betweene three or foure Spaniardes, to one more, to another lesse, so as sometime one hath for his portion the husband, another the wife, and the third the childrē, as they were swine. Thus doe they possesse the Indians. One appointeth them to labour a peece of lande: another sendeth them to the mines loaden like beastes: another hyreth them by two and two as they were moyles to carry burdens-thirtie, fortie, fiftie, a hundred or two hundred miles out right. And this haue we seen to be a daily vse: hereof commeth, it that the Indians cannot heare Gods word, or bee instructed in Christian faith: they make them of free mē very strange bondslaues. They haue subuerted and dispersed great townes, and a whole worlde of people, so as they haue not left any houses standing together, no not so much as the children with the fathers. The Spaniards make no more account, neither haue any more regard of conuerting the Indians, then if al those reasonable soules should perishe with the bodies, and were not hereafter to receiue immortall life, glory, or paine, no more then beastes.

Out of the thirde reason.

THe Spaniards are charged to instruct the Indians in our holy catholike faith: whereupon on a time when we examined *Iohn Colmenere of S. Marthe*, a fantastical, ignorant, and foolish man, who had gotten a great towne in *commendam*, and had a charge of soules, he could not tell how to blesse himselfe: and asking him what doctrine he taught the Indians cōmitted to his charge, he said, he gaue thē to the diuell: also that it was enough

for him to say *Per signim sanctin Cruces*. Howe can the Spaniardes that trauaile to the Indies, howe noble or valiant so euer they bee, haue any care of the soules, when the most of them are ignorant of their Creede and ten commandements, & know not the matters perteining to their owne saluation, neither doe trauaile to the Indies for any other purpose but to satisfie their owne desires and couetous affections, being for the most Parte vicious, corrupt, vnhoneſt, and disordinate persons: so as he that would way them in an equal ballance, & compare them with the Indians, shoulde finde the Indians without comparison, more vertuous and holy then them. For the Indians what infidels soeuer they bee, doe neuertheleſſe keepe them to one and their own wife, as nature and necessitie teacheth, and yet we see some Spaniarde haue foureteene or more, which Gods commandementes do forbid. The Indians deuoure no mans goods, they doe no man wrong: they doe not vexe, trouble, or slay any, where them selues doe see the Spaniardes commit all sinnes, iniquities, and treacheries, that man can commit against all equitie and iustice. To bee briefe, the Indians doe not beleeue any thing, but doe mocke at all that is shewed them of God, beeing in trueth fully rooted in this opinion of our God, that he is the worst, the most vniust, and the most wicked of all Gods, because he hath such seruants: also concerning your maiestie, they thinke you the most vniust and cruell of all kinges, because you doe both sende thither and keepe heere such euill subiectes, supposing that your maiestie doth feed vpon humane flesh and blood. We know these things to be very new and strange to your highnes, but yet there they be very vsuall and auncient. Many like matters which with our eyes we haue seene, might we speake of, but they would be offensiue to your maiesties eares, and would besides feare men, forcing thē to wonder that euer God staied so long from plaging Spaine in the bottomleſſe pit. This title, to giue the Indians to the Spaniards *in cõmedã*, was neuer inuented to any other end but only to finde occasion to bring them into bondage. One Spaniard being Lorde, or hauing the charge of some towne or village, will do more harme by his example and wicked life, then a hundred good religious persons can do good by edifiyng or conuerting.

Our

Out of the fourth reaſon.

THe Spaniardes hauing authoritie to commaunde, or particular intereſt in the Indies, can not by reaſon of their great couetouſnes abſtaine from afflicting, troubling, diſquieting, vexing, or oppreſſing the Indians, taking away their goodes, landes, wiues, or children, and vſing among them many other kindes of iniquitie, for the which they can haue no redreſſe, ſanction, or warrant at your Maieſties chiefe iuſtice, becauſe the Spaniardes doe make them afraide: yea ſometimes doe kill them, leaſt they ſhoulde complaine, as wee haue had certaine notice: and thereupon it is euident, that they can haue no reſt or quiet, to tende to matters pertaining God, but doe ſuſtaine a thouſande lets, anguiſhes, tormentes, ſorowes, afflictions, heauineſſes, and cares, hating your Maieſtie, and abhorring Gods lawe, which they finde ſo heauie, bitter, and intollerable: as alſo your Maieſties yoke and dominion ſo inſupportable, tyrannous, worthie to bee reiected and caſt off, that they curſe God and fall into deſperation, attributing to him all the aforeſaide euils, becauſe that vnder the colour and title of his lawe, they do receiue ſuch miſhappes, which hee doth beare withall, and doth not correct or chaſtice thoſe which boaſting to be his ſeruanntes, doe put them to all this. They doe night and day mourne after their gods, thinking them to bee better then ours at whom they ſuſtaine ſuche harmes, while contrarywiſe of their owne they reape there ſo many commodities: and there is nothing that troubleth them ſo much as the Chriſtians.

Out of the fifth reaſon.

VVE can ſhewe to your Maieſtie, that the Spaniardes haue within 38. or 40. yeeres ſlaine of iuſt accompt, aboue 12. Millions of your ſubiectes: I will not ſay howe mightily this worlde of people might haue multiplied. This countrey being

being the fertileſt, whether for cattel, or mankinde, that is in the worlde: the ſoile being for the moſt part, more temperate and fauourable to humaine generation. All theſe iunumerable perſons, and all theſe people haue the Spaniards ſlaine, to the end to beare ſway, gouerne, & cõmaund ouer the reſt: & when in iniuſt wars they haue ſlaine them, then doe they vſe the reſt, who iuſtly haue withſtood them, in drawing gold & ſiluer, yoking them together like beaſts, to make them carry their burdens, hiring thẽ & burdening them with all that they can gaine, and liue or die it is all one to them, ſo that they may reape any benefite or coine. I ſpeak but the truth, and yet do leaue out much vnſpoken of that all the world knoweth: and whoſoeuer woulde otherwiſe perſwade your Maieſtie, or would endeuour to excuſe thoſe offences, wee will euen by force of the truth, driue him to knowledge him ſelfe guilty of treaſon, & that he is partaker in theſe murders & robberies committed in the Indies, or els hopeth ſo to be.

What plague of peſtilence, or mortalitie could there haue fallen from heauen that had been able to conſume or make waſt aboue 2500. leagues of flat countrey, repleniſhed with people, and would not haue left either trauailer or inhabitant?

Out of the ſixt reaſon.

THe Spaniardes only for their temporall commoditie, haue blemiſhed the Indies with the greateſt infamie, that any man euen among the moſt horrible and villanous perſons in the world, could be charged withal, & whereby they haue ſought to take thẽ out of the degree of mankinde: namely that they all were polluted with the abhominable ſinne againſt nature: which is a wretched and falſe ſlaunder. For in all the great Iles, *Hiſpaniola*, *S. Iohn*, *Cuba*, & *Lamaica*: Alſo in the 60. Iles of Lucayos, whiche were inhabited with a infinite nomber of people, the ſame was neuer thought vpon, or once mentioned, as our ſelues can teſtifie, who made diligent inquiſition & ſearch, euen from the beginning. Moreouer, through all Peru, there is no ſuch ſpeach, neither is there any one Indiã throughout ỹ whole realm of Yucatã ſpotted with that crime, neither generally throughout all the Indies: ſauing that in ſome other part there is a voice of a few: for whoſe ſakes neuertheles all that world is not to be condemned. We may ſay as much of the eating of mans fleſh, which likewiſe

those places that I haue named are free of: although that in other places they do it in deed. They be also charged with their idolatrie, as if for being idolaters, men should take vpon them to punish them, & not referre them to God only, against whō they sin, whiles they haue both lands & dominions seuerall to them selues, which they hold not of any other thē their natural Lords: besides that our ancesters were also idolaters before the faith was preached vnto them, & that all the world was gathered to Christ. The Spaniardes haue purposely, & effectually hindered the teaching of the law of God and Iesus Christ: with all other vertues among the Indians, & driuen away the religious persons out of townes and fortresses, least they shoulde see and disclose their tyrannies: yea, they haue by their euill example, infected & corrupted the Indians, teaching them many odious behauiours and vices, which before they knew not, as blaspheming the name of Iesus Christ, practising of vserie, lying, & many other abominations wholy repugnant to their nature. Again, to commit the Indians to the Spaniards, or to leaue them in their handes, is vndoubtedly as much as to giue or leaue them to these that will destroy & bring them to nought, as well in body as soule.

The Spaniards hauing fraudulently perswaded K. Ferdinand, he suffered the Indians to be trāsported out of the Iles of Lucayos into Hispaniola, and so contrary to all reason, either naturall or diuine, dispossessed them of their owne houses and lands, whereby there perished aboue 50000. soules: so as in aboue 50. Iles, whereof some were greater then the Ile of Canary, which before were replenished with people as an Ante heape, afterward there were to be found not aboue eleuen persons, as our selues can testifie. To let your Maiestie vnderstand the goodnes and vpright dealing of the inhabitants of the saide Ilandes called Lucayos: also of the slaughters, cruelties, and spoyles that the Spaniardes, these good christians made among them, wee might make your royall eares to glow, and your bowels to lament, and so your selfe to depart. That the Spaniardes haue warred vpon the Indians, that they haue killed them, taken away their wiues, children, frindes, and kindred: also that they haue robbed them of all their goodes,

is alreadie sufficiently proued, as also the countrey being vtterly dispeopled and desert, doeth shewe it: the worlde crieth out vpon it: the Angels doe bewaile it, and God himselfe doth dayly teach it vs by the great punishments that he layeth vpon vs.

Out of the seuenth reason.

THe Spaniardes doe sucke from the Indians the whole substaunce of their bodies, because they haue nothing else in their houses. They make them spitte blood: They exhibite them to all daungers: They lay vpon them sundrie and intollerable trauailes: and more then al this, They loade them with torments, beatings, and sorowings: To be briefe, they spoile and consume a thousande maner of waies.

To put the Indians into the Spaniardes handes, is, to giue the childes throate to a frantick and mad man when he hath the rasor in his hande: or it is as much as to deliuer men into the power of the furious or capitall enemies, who long time haue verye desirously wayted to put them to death. It is as a man shoulde commit a faire young virgin to the guiding of a young man snared, transported, and doting in her loue, whereby shee shoulde be spoiled and deflowred, vnlesse shee were miraculously preserued. To be briefe, it were as good to throwe them among the hornes of wilde Bulles, eyther to deliuer them vnto hunger starued Wolues, Lions, and Tygres, and as much good shoulde they gette by any lawes, preceptes, or threates made to the saide hungrie beastes, for the forbidding of them to deuoure them, as much do we say and affirme will any lawes, threates, or preceptes, stay the Spaniardes, when they haue authoritie ouer the Indians from murdering them for their golde. Yea by great and long experience that we haue, wee doe certifie your highnesse, that notwithstanding you shoulde commaunde to set vp a Gibbet before euery Spaniardes gate, and sweare by your Crowne, that for the first Indian that shoulde be missed or slain, you woulde haue them all hanged, yet would they not for feare thereof abstaine from slaying the Indians, in case your Maiestie should graunt or giue them supreme power and authoritie ouer them,

them, or otherwise howesoeuer.

Out of the eight reason.

BEsides all that the Indians doe indure in seruing and pleasing the Spaniarde, there is yet a butcher or cruell hangman, to keepe them in awe appointed in euery towne and place, and is tearmed *Estanciero* or *Calpisque:* who hath authoritie to lay his clawes vpon them, and to make them labour, and doe what the Lorde Commaunder, or chiefe thiefe will. So as if in hell there were no other torment, yet were this incomparable. This hangman whippeth them, hee ladeth them with stripes, hee basteth them with scalding grease, he afflicteth them with continuall tormentes and trauelles, he forceth & defloureth their daughters and wiues, dishonouring and abusing them: hee deuoureth their hennes whiche are their greatest treasure, not beecause them selues doe eate them, but that of them they offer presents and seruice to their greatest Lorde and chiefe tyrant: hee vexeth them with innumerable other tormentes and griefes: & least they shoulde complaine of so many iniuries and miseries, this tyrant putteth them in feare, saying: that he will accuse them, and say that he see them commit idolatrie. To be briefe, they must please and content aboue twentie disordinate and vnreasonable persons; so as they haue foure Lordes and maisters. Your Maiestie, their Cacique, him that hath them in commendam, and the *Estanciero* of whom I last spake, whiche *Estanciero* is to them more grieuous to beare then a quintall of lead, among which we may also in truth adde all the *Mochachos* and *Mores*, that do serue the commander and master, for they al do molest, oppresse, and robbe these poore people.

Out of the tenth reason.

IT is greatly to be feared, least God will lay Spain desolate, euen for those horrible sinnes that this nation hath cõmitted in the Indies, whereof we do euidently beholde the scorge, and all the world doth see & confesse that already it hãgeth ouer our heads, wher with God doth afflict & shew that he is highly offẽded in those parts through the great destruction and wast of those nations, in that of so great tresures as haue bin transported out of the

Indies into Spaine (the like quantitie of golde and ſiluer, neyther K. Salomõ, neither any other worldly prince euer had, ſawe, or heard of) there is none left, beſids ỹ of that that was here before the Indies were diſcouered, there is nowe none to be foũd, no neuer a whit. Hereof it commeth that thinges are thriſe dearer then they were, the poore that haue want doe ſuffer great miſeries: and your maieſtie can not diſpatch matters of great importaunce.

Out of the eleuenth reaſon.

SO long as Lares bare ſway and ruled, that was ix. yeeres, there was no more care of teaching or bringing the Indians to ſaluation, neither was there any more labour employed, or once thought of, to that purpoſe, then if they had been trees, ſtones, dogges, or cats. He waſted great townes and fortreſſes, hee gaue to one Spaniard 100. Indians, to another fiftie, to another more or leſſe, as euery man was in liking or fauour, and as it pleaſed him to graunt. He gaue children, & old men, women with child, and in childbed, men of countenance and commons, the naturall Lords of the townes and countreys, he parted them among thoſe to whom he wiſhed moſt wealth and commoditie, vſing in his letters of commaund this ſpeech following: *To you ſuch a man, are giuen ſo many Indians with their Cacique, them to vſe in your mines and affayres.* So as all, great and ſmall, young and olde, that could ſtand on their feete, men, women with childe, or in childbed, one or other, trauailed and wrought ſo long as they had any breath in their bodies. He gaue leue to take away maried men, and to make them drawe golde, ten, twentie, thirtie, fourty, or eightie leagues, or farther. The women remayned in farme houſes and graunges, in great labours about gathering of great heapes for the making of the bread that they doe eate, which is, to heape together the earth whiche they doe digge, and rayſe foure handfull hie, and twelue foote ſquare, that is a giaunts labour, namely to digge the hard earth, not with mattockes or ſhouels, but with In other places they ſpinne cotten, and doe ſuch other worke, as are moſt meete for gaine and rayſing of

coyne,

coyne, ſo that the man and wife ſhould not ſee one another in 8. or 10. monethes or a whole yere. And at their meeting they were ſo worne with labour and hunger, that they had no minde of cohabitation, whereby their generation ceaſed, & their poore children periſhed, becauſe the mothers through hunger and trauaile had no milke wherewith to nouriſh them : This was a cauſe that in the Ile of Cuba, one of vs being there, there periſhed in the ſpace of three moneths for hunger 7000. children, ſome deſperate women ſtrangled and killed their owne children, others finding them ſelues with childe, did eate certaine hearbes thereby to looſe their fruit, ſo that the men died in the mines, the womē periſhed in the farme houſes, their whole generatiō in a ſhort ſpace decayed, and all the countrey lay deſolate. The ſaide gouernour, to the ende without releaſe to keepe them in continuall labour, ſtil gaue them away, and yet beſides their great labours he ſuffered them rigorouſly, & very auſterely to be miſuſed. For the Spaniardes that had them in commaund, appointed certaine hangmen ouer them, ſome in the mines whom the termed Miniero, other in the farmes, that were called Eſtanciero: vnnaturall and pitileſſe perſons that beate them with ſtaues and cords, boxing them, pricking them with needles, and ſtill calling them dogs: neither did they euer ſhewe any ſigne of humanitie or clemencie, but all their dealings did conſiſt of extreame ſeueritie, rigor, and bitterneſſe, ſo as in troth it might be thought great crueltie ſo to entreat or gouerne the verie Moores, being the cruelleſt of all others, for all the damage that they haue done to the Chriſtians: where the Indians are more treatable, curteous, gentle, and obedient, then any other nation in the worlde. Farther, when becauſe of theſe Eſtancieros and Minieros, together with ſuch labours as they put them vnto, ſome of them fled into the mountaines, as making full accoumpt to bee killed, the Spaniardes choſe certayne officers whō they termed *Alguazil del Campo*, that ſhoulde purſue and hunt them out of the mountaines.

The gouernour had alſo in the Spaniſh townes and fortes, certayne of the moſte honourable and principall perſons

about him whome hee called Visitors, vnto whome also besides their other ordinarie portions that he had giuen them, he gaue in respect of their offices 100. Indians to serue them. These in the townes were the greatest executioners, as being more cruel then the rest, before whom *Athuaziles del campo* brought all suche as had bin taken in this chase. The accuser, hee that had them in commaund, was present, and accused them, saying: *This Indian or those Indians are dogs, & wil do no seruice, but do dayly run to the mountaines, there to become loyterers & vagaboundes*: And therfore required they might be punished. Then the visitor with his own hands boũd thẽ to a pale, & taking a pitched cord, in the Gallies called an Eele, which is as it were an iron rod, gaue them so many stripes, & bet them so cruelly, that the blood running downe diuers parts of their bodies, they were left for dead. God is witnesse of the cruelties committed among those lambs: I am perswaded that of the thousãd part I can not rehearse one, neither can any other tell it as it ought. The labour that they were put vnto, was to drawe golde, whereto they had need haue men of iron. For they must turne the mountaines 1000. times vpside downe, digging and hewing the rockes, and washing, and clensing the gold it selfe in the riuers, where they shall continually stand in the water vntill they brust, and rent their bodies euẽ in pieces. Also whẽ the Mines peraduẽture doe flow with water, then must they also besides all other laboures, drawe it out with their armes. To be briefe, the better to comprehend the labour that is emploid about gathering golde and siluer, it may please your Maiestie to consider, that the heathen Emperours (except to death) neuer condemned the Martyres to greater tormentes, then to mining for mettall: sometimes they were kept a whole yeere at the mines: but afterward perceiuing howe manie perished there, they decreed that they mine for golde but fiue moneths, which was fourtie dayes in melting, during which time they tooke some rest.

And what was their rest? They during those fourtie dayes, made heapes of that which they shoulde eate, that is, they digged the earth, and cast it on heapes as is aforesaide, whiche labour doeth exceede, dressing of vines, or tilling of the earth.

Through-

Throughout the yere they neuer knew holiday, neither might be ſuffered from labour little or much. Beſides that during all this toyle, they neuer had ſufficient food, no not of *Cacabi* whiche is the common countrie bread, and being made of rootes doth but ſmally nouriſh except there be ſome fiſh or fleſh to eate withal. Moreouer, they gaue them of that countrie pepper, and *Aies*, which be rootes like vnto nauetes, roſted or ſodden. But ſome Spaniarde, peraduenture meaning to ſeeme liberall in their diet woulde weekely kill a hogge for 50. *Indians*, whereof the *Alinier o* would conſume two quarters, and part the other two among the *Indians*, giuing daily to euery man as great a peece as the *Iacekins* doe giue of holy bread in their Churches. Some there were that through nigardlineſſe wanting meate to giue them, woulde ſend them two or three dayes abroade into the fieldes and mountaines, to feed where they might ſatisfie themſelues with ſuch fruite as hang on the trees, and then vppon the force of that which they brought in their guttes, woulde force them to labour two or three dayes more without giuing thē any one morſell to eate. For the loue of God therefore, let your Maieſtie thinke what ſubſtance or ſtrength thoſe bodies naturally ſo delicate and feeble, and nowe almoſt conſumed and oppreſſed with theſe trauailes, could gather of this food: alſo how it were poſſible for thoſe that liued ſo ſorowfull, heauie and woeful a life, in ſuch labour without food ſhoulde liue long. The gouernour commanded they ſhoulde bee paide their day wages and expences for any labour or ſeruice that they ſhoulde doe to the Spaniarde, and their wages was three blanckes euery two dayes, whiche in the yeere amounted to halfe a *Caſtelin*, that is worth 225. *Maruedies*: wherewith they might buye a Combe, a looking glaſſe, and a paire of blew or greene beades. Yea, many yeeres they had nothing at all paide them, but hunger and ſtripes did ſo abound, that the *Indians* regarded none of this, neither ſought any more but euen once to get a good meales meat, or to die for all, as wiſhing to forſake ſo deſperate a life. He depriued them of their libertie, ſuffering the Spaniards to keepe them in ſuch bitter bondage and priſon as no man that had ſeene it, would or coulde once thinke for to not leauing them any thing in this worlde free

to vſe at their pleaſures: yea, notwithſtanding the beaſtes haue ſome time reſt, and bee ſuffered to feede abrode in the fieldes, yet woulde not theſe Spaniards that we ſpeake of, graunt the Indians any time or leaſure ſo to doe: but the gouernour himſelfe would force them to an obſolute, perpetuall, forced, & vnwilling bondage. For they neuer had their freewil to do any thing at al of themſelues, becauſe the Spaniards couetouſnes, crueltie and tyrannie, was ſtil forcing them to ſome labour, not as captiues, but as beaſts, that are led bound to do whatſoeuer man will appoint. Againe, if at any time they were ſuffered to depart to their houſes to reſt them, then ſhould they there find neither wife, children, nor food: as alſo although they had there found any meat, yet ſhould they not haue had time to make it readie: ſo that there was no remedie but death. Thus grew they into ſicknes through long and grieuous trauailes, and that was ſone caught among thé as being (as is aforeſaid) of a very delicate and tender cõplection, & much againſt their nature it was to be thus ſodenly, contrary to their wont, & vnmercifully put to ſuch labours, & to be beaté with ſtaues, & ſpurned at, beſides the calling of thé at euery word *Villacos*, & vpbraiding thé, that they counterfeated ſickneſſe like loytering loſels, becauſe they would not labour. When the Spaniards perceiued the ſicknes increaſé, ſo as there was no profit or ſeruice to be looked for at their hands, then would they ſend thé home to their houſes, giuing thé to ſpend in ſome 30. 40. or 80. leagues trauaile, ſome halfe doſen of Radiſh or *Refortes*, that is a kinde of nauet roote, & a little *Cacabi*, wherewith the poore men trauailed not far before they ſhold deſperately die, ſom went 2. or 3. leagues, ſome 10, or 20, ſo deſirous to get to their owne home there to finiſh their helliſh life that they ſuffered, that they euẽ fel down dead by the waies: ſo as, many times we haue foũd ſom dead, others at deaths doore, others groning & pitifully to their powers pronouncing this word, *hunger, hunger*. Then the gouernour ſeeing that the Spaniard had in this wiſe ſlaine, half or two 3. parts of theſe Indians, whõ he had giuen them in commaund, he came a freſh to drawe new lottes, and make a newe diſtribution of Indians: ſtill ſupplying the number of his firſte gift, and this did hee almoſt euery yeere.

Pedrarias

Pedrarias entred into the firme land, as a woolfe that had long beene ſtarued doth into a flocke of quiet and innocent ſheepe & lambs; & as Gods wrath and ſcourge, committing infinit ſlaughters, robberies, oppreſſions & cruelties, together with thoſe ſpaniards whom he had leuied, and laid waſt ſo many townes and villages, which before had bin repleniſhed with people, as it were ant hilles, as the like was neuer ſeene, heard of, or written by any that in our dayes haue delt in hiſtories. Hee robbed his maieſtie & ſubiects with thoſe whom he tooke with him, and the harme that he did amounted to aboue four, yea, ſixe millions of gold: he laid aboue 40. leagues of land deſart, namely from *Darien*, where he firſt arriued vnto the prouince of *Nicaraga*, one of the fruitfulleſt, richeſt and beſt inhabited lands in the world. From this curſed wretch ſprang firſt the peſtilence of giuing the Indians in commaund, which afterward hath infected al thoſe Indies where any Spaniards doe inhabite, and by whom all theſe nations are conſumed: ſo that from him and his commandes, haue proceeded the certaine waſte and deſolation that your maieſtie haue ſuſteined in theſe ſo great lands and dominions ſince the yeere 1504.

When we ſhall ſay that the Spaniards haue waſted your maieſties, and laid you deſolate ſeuen kingdomes bigger then Spaine, you muſt conceaue that we haue ſeene thē wonderfully peopled, and now there is no body left, becauſe the Spaniards haue ſlaine all the naturall inhabitants by meanes aforeſaid, and that of the townes & houſes there remaineth only the bare walles: euen as if Spaine were all diſpeopled, and that all the people being dead, there remained only the walles of cities, townes and caſtles.

Out of the 13. reaſon.

YOur maieſtie haue not out of al the Indies one maruedie of certaine perpetuall & ſet rent, but the whole reuenewes are as leaues and ſtraw gathered vpon the earth, which beeing once gathered vp do grow no more: Euen ſo is all the rent that your maieſtie hath in the Indies, vain & of as ſmal cōtinuāce as a blaſt of wind, & ꝑ proceedeth only of ꝑ the ſpaniards haue had ꝑ Indi

in their power: and as they doe dayly slay and roste the inhabitants, so must it necessarilie ensue that your maiesties rights and rentes doe waste and diminishe.

The kingdome of Spaine is in great danger to bee lost, robbed, oppressed and made desolate by forraigne nations, namely by the Turks and Moores, because that God who is the most iust, true, and soueraigne king ouer all the worlde, is wrath for the great sinnes and offences that the Spaniardes haue committed throughout the Indies, by afflicting, oppressing, tyrannous dealings, robbing and slaying such and so many people without law or equititie, and for the wasting of such and so large landes in so short a space, whose inhabitants had reasonable soules, and were created and framed to the image and likenesse of the soueraigne trinitie, and beeing gods vassals, were bought with his most precious blood, who keepeth account, and forgetteth not one of them: but had chosen Spaine as his minister and instrument, to illuminate and bring them to his knowledge, and as it had bin for a worldly recompence, besides the eternal reward, had graunted her so great natural riches, and discouered for her such & so great fruitfull and pleasant landes, and with al such artificial treasure, together with so many incomparable mines of gold, silver, stone, and precious pearle, with infinite other commodities, the like whereof were neuer seene ne heard of: all which notwithstanding, shee hath shewed herselfe so vnthankfull, in yeelding euill for so many benefites which shee had receiued. And God ordinarily vseth this rule in executing his iustice & punishment, that is, that he chastizeth sinne with the same, or with that which is quite contrarie to that wherwith the sinne is committed.

The destructions, griefes, violences, iniuries, cruelties, and murders done and committed against those people, are so greate, horrible, publike & euident, that the teares, lamétations & blood of so many innocent persons doe ascende to the high throne of heauen, & doe not returne before they haue sounded in ỹ very eares of God, from whence they after descend, and straying ouer the face of the earth doe ring in the eares of al forraigne nations, so horrible and inhumaine as may be: wherupon ensueth among

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the hearers great offence, horror, abhomination, hatred and infamie toward the kinges and commons of Spaine, whereof in time to come may ensue great damage.

Out of the said Bishop and authours protestation.

THose losses and detrimentes that by these occasions the crowne of *Castile* and *Leon*, together with the rest of spain haue susteined, as also such other spoyles and slaughters as hereafter will bee committed throughout the whole Indies, both the blinde shall see, the deafe heare, the dumbe publishe, and the wise shall iudge. Further in as much as our life is short, I doe take God to witnesse with all the *Hierarchies* and thrones of Angels, all the saints of the heauenly court, and all the men in the worlde: yea, euen those that shall hereafter bee borne, of the certificate that here I doe exhibite: also of this the discharge of my conscience, namely that if his maiestie graunteth to the Spaniards the aforesaide diuelish and tyrannous partition, notwithstanding whatsoeuer lawes or statutes shall bee deuised, yet will the Indies in short space be laid desart and dispeopled, euen as the Ile of *Hispaniola* is at this present, which otherwise would bee most fruitfull and fertile: together with other the Iles & lands aboue 3000. leagues about, besides *Hispaniola* it self and other landes both farre and neere. And for those sinnes, as the holy scripture doth very well informe mee, God will horribly chastize, and peraduenture wholy subuert and root out all Spaine. Anno, 1542.

The Prologue of Bishop Bortholomewe de las Casas or Casaus, to the most mightie Lord and Prince of Spaine, Don Philip our good Lorde,

MOst high and mightie Lorde, of late I was moued and by the kings most vigilant counsaile for the Indies, vpon their zeale and honour that they beare to our Lord God; as also hartie

loyaltie, wherwith they be adorned for his maieſties ſeruice, forced in writing to ſet downe ſuche matter as to your perſon by mouth I haue heretofore reported: namely, what I thought touching the title and claime that the kings of *Caſtile* doe make to the ſoueraigne and vniuerſall principalitie ouer the Indians: notwithſtanding, ſome did ariſe, who miſliking that I dealt and trauailed with his maieſtie and your highnes, about the diſcomfitures and loſſes compaſſed and perfourmed againſt the people of thoſe countries, and reported that in as much as I did ſo far deteſt and with ſuch bitterneſſe and ſharpnes did abhorre them: as alſo I will ſtill doe, ſo long as I liue, I doe call in doubt, and ſomewhat deminiſh the ſaid royall title and right.

In which deede, as a teſtimonie what I did think, and in truth according to God and his holy lawe doe ſtill hold, I exhibited 30. propoſitions, deuoid of all other proofe then what eache of them in it ſelfe did conteine, the one of neceſſitie following the other, becauſe I was driuen to ſend them to his maieſtie vnder pretence of the great counſaile that then was holden.

Afterward proceeding and perſiſting in deſire to ſerue god by refelling ſome mens ſlanders, who either for want of comprehending the truth, or els hauing ſome other purpoſes & contrarie meanings, do preſume vnder a fained and counterfet kinde of ſeruice to the kings (who of thẽſelues naturally are endued with courteous & ſimple mindes and hearts, iudging & meaſuring all other by themſelues) to preſent vnto them, a poyſoned, bitter, & peraduenture a mortall drinke which doth not only waſte kingdomes & common wealthes, in procuring their carefull calamities & dolorous deſtruction: but alſo doe bring euen the kinges owne perſons to the pit of manifeſt danger & irreparable detriments and loſſes. With which fraudulous counſails they doe infect ſo much as in thẽ lieth, the good & godly affections of kings, and do ſubuert all the princes vertuous deuiſes & ſtudies. Hereof did ſometime that moſt mightie king *Artaxerxes* otherwiſe tearmed *Aſſuerus* complaine, as appeareth in the booke of *Heſter*. I haue ſo indeuoured my ſelfe (moſt mightie Lord) that now I haue ſet in hand the proofe of the ſaid 30. propoſitions & ſome more, comprehending the whole in this brief ſummarie, which

is taken out of a greater volume, wherein euery article is more perticulerly expounded: herein setting in sight only the 17. and 18. proposition, because the whole substance of this matter may be reduced to these two propositions as to the principles & ends.

The title hereof should in my opinion haue been: *A probatorie tretise of the soueraigne Empire, and vniuersal principalitie, which the kings of Castile haue ouer the Indies*: As presupposing that it is manifest & proued, in that the Apostolike sea hath graunted it, and that there needeth no other opening of the reasons whereupon the graunt of this empire consisteth.

I purpose in this treatise chiefly to discharge my conscience, vsing that meane which it seemeth that Gods prouidence hath appointed me. My great age (for I am aboue 50.) being the cause of my large knowledge and eye experience of the Indian affaires, also to giue notice of that which passed in these partes, as also what was to be done, euer referring my self to the like desire that the disorders that I haue there seen practised might be redressed. And the rather because those that hinder this redresse & are most hurtful to those lāds, are such as being deuoid of truth & iustice, do indeuour by counterfeating and mingling that which is false, & vntrue, and withall seeming to doe it for your maiesties seruice, especially colouring your right to this new worlde, are in trueth altogether withstanders of your seruice & weale, either spirituall or temporall (as euery true christian & wise man wil graunt) The other benefite that I hope to obteine and reape by this treatise, is, that I shall detect and vnfold those mens errours, who rashly dare affirme that the right and principalitie of the kinges of *Castile* ouer the Indians is, or shoulde consist of armes and great force, entring vpon them euen as *Nemrod* who was the first hunter and oppressour of mankinde did euer, and establishe his principalitie, as the holy scripture testifieth: either as great *Alexander* and the Romans, and all other notable and famous tyrants, doe lay the foundation of their Empires: also as the Turke doth nowe adaies inuade, trouble, and oppresse christendome: and yet haue not any of them once approched the spanish tyrannies.

How far those men that do pronounce such a sentence do euill

ſeruice, and offend the ſincertie and loue of the king of *Caſtiles* iuſtice, is here very eaſie to be iudged.

Who for proofe of their matters doe commit error vpon error, and ſo doe heape together other things both abſurd, wicked and vnworthie to bee once hearde from theſe men which bee taken either for Chriſtians or for reaſonable perſons. For vſually ſuch as ſtray from vertue and truth, in excuſing one fault, or mainteining one errour, doe runne headlong into many. Others there are that do colour them with fairer & honeſter titles, who alſo deſerue to be reiected, reproued, & laughed at: as thoſe that ſay, becauſe we haue more wit, or that we border neereſt vpon them, either for that the Indians are infected with ſuche and ſuch vices, we may ſubdue them: with other like colours wherwith they bee ſo far from vpholding or confirming that which they weene to ſtrengthen and fortifie, that finally they lay all in the duſt. To the end therefore that his maieſtie may bee certified of all aforeſaid, and as a moſt Chriſtiã and iuſt prince, may diſcerne betweene the pure and corrupt: alſo betwene right & wronge, and withall that he may knowe who ſerueth him faithfully, and thoſe that hange vppon him only to ſatisfie their owne affections: and for their priuate profit doe inuent and deuiſe new titles for his Indies, which be neither probable nor of any effect, & ſo do hope to come to do their duties before that I were able. Further for that offering this treatiſe to your highnes, his maieſtie ſhall bee ſerued thereby, ſith himſelfe ſhall haue ſuch lettes there as he goeth, I doe moſt humbly beſeech your highneſſe in his name to accept it: alſo to examine, diſcerne, and vnderſtande it with ſuch wiſedome and clemencie as you holde of his maieſtie, and as himſelfe would doe, ſeeing it is ſo, that Gods prouidence hath appointed your highneſſe to inherite, as we doe hope the ſame right in the empire & principalitie of thẽ: beſides if it ſeeme neceſſary to be publiſhed in other places out of this realm I will, if your highnes ſo command me, put it in latin: & although it ſhould not deſerue to be diſperſed either in latin or otherwiſe, yet were not the loſſe great, in that I cauſed it to be printed onlie to the end your highneſſe might with more eaſe reade the ſame, whoſe glorious life and royall eſtate, the Lorde increaſe and proſper, Amen.

The

The ſumme of the diſputation between,

Fryer Bartlemewe de las Caſas or Caſaus, and *Doctor Sepulueda.*

DOctor Sepulueda the Emperors chronographer hauing information, & being perſwaded by certayne of thoſe Spaniardes, who were moſt guiltie in the ſlaughters and waſtes committed among the Indian people, wrote a booke in Latine in forme of a Diologue very eloquently, and furniſhed with all floures, and precepts of Rhetoricke, as in deede the man is verie learned and excellent in the ſaide tongue, which booke conſiſted vpon two principall concluſions. The one, that the Spaniardes warres againſt the Indians, were as concerning the cauſe and equitie that moued thē thereto, very iuſt: alſo that generally the like war may & ought to be cōtinued. His other concluſion, that the Indians are bound to ſubmitte them ſelues to the Spaniards gouernment, as the fooliſhe to the wiſe; if they will not yeelde, then that the Spaniards may (as he affirmeth) warre vpon them.

Theſe are the two cauſes of the loſſe and deſtruction of ſo infinite numbers of people: alſo that aboue 2000. leagues of the maine lande, are by ſundrie newe kindes of Spaniſh cruelties and inhumaine dealinges bin lefte deſolate in the Ilands: namely by conqueſtes and commaundes as he nowe nameth thoſe which were wont to be called Partitions.

The ſayde Doctor Sepulueda coloureth his treatiſe, vnder the pretence of publiſhing the title which the kinges of Caſtile and Leon doe chalenge in the gouernment and vniuerſall ſoueraignetie of this Indian world, ſo ſeeking to cloake that doctrine whiche he endeuoureth to diſperſe and ſcatter as well in theſe lands, as alſo throughout the kingdomes of the Indians. This booke he exhibited to the royall counſaile for the Indies, very earneſtly and importunately lying vpon them for licence to print it, which they ſundry times denied him in reſpect of the offence, dangers, & manifeſt detriment, that it ſeemed to bring to the common-

wealth.

The Doctour seeing that heere hee coulde not publishe his booke, for that the counsaile of the Indies woulde not suffer it, he delte so farre with his friendes whiche followed the Emperours court, that they gotte him a patente, whereby his Maiestie directed him to the royall counsayle of Castile, who knewe nothing of the Indian affaires: vpon the comming of these letters the court and counsaile being at Aranda in Duero, the yeere 1547. Fryer Bartholomewe de las Casas or Casaus, Bishoppe of the royall towne of Chiapa, by happe arriued there, comming from the Indians, and hauing intelligence of Doctor Sepulueda his driftes and deuises, had notice also of the contentes of his whole booke: but vnderstanding, the authours pernitions blindnes, as also the irrecouerable losses that might ensue vpon the printing of this booke, with might & maine withstood it, discouering & reuealing the poyson wherewith it abounded, and whereto it pretended.

The Lordes of the royall counsell of Castile, as wise and iust iudges, determined therefore to sende the sayde booke to the Vniuersities of Salamanca & Alcala, the matter being for he most part therein Theologically handled, with commaundement to examine it, and if it might be printed, to signe it: which Vniuersities after many exact and diligent disputations, concluded, that it might not be printed, as contayning corrupt doctrine. The Doctour not so satisfied, but complayning of the Vniuersities aforesayde, determined, notwithstanding so many denialles and repulses at both the royall counsailes, to sende his treatise to his friends at Rome, to the ende there to print it, hauing first transformed it into a certayne Apologie written to the Bishop of Segouia, because the same Bishoppe hauing perused the treatie and booke aforesaide, had brotherly and charitablie as his friende by letters reprooued and counsayled him. The Emperor vnderstanding of the impression of the sayde booke and Apologie, did immediatly dispatche his letters patents, for the calling in and supression of the same, commaunding likewise to gather in agayne all copies thereof throughout Castile, for the said Doctour had published also in the Castilean language a certaine abstract of the saide booke, thereby to make it more common

to

to all the lande: and to the ende also that the commons, and such as vnderstood no latine, might haue some vse thereof, as being a matter agreeable and toothsome to suche vs coueted great riches, and sought wayes to clyme to other estates, then eyther themselues, or their predecessors coulde euer attaine vnto, without great cost, labour, and cares, and oftentimes with the losse and destruction of diuers.

Which when the Bishoppe of Chiapa vnderstoode, hee determined also to write an apologie in the vulgar tongue, against the saide doctors summarie, in defence of the Indies, therein impugning and vndermining his foundations, and answering all reasons, or whatsoeuer the doctor coulde alledge for him selfe, therin displaying & setting before the peoples face the dangers, inconueniences and harmes in the sayde doctrine contayned.

Thus as many thinges passed on both sides, his Maiestie in the yeere 1550. called to Valadolid, an assemblie of learned men, as well Diuines as Lawyers; who being ioyned with the Royall counsaile of the Indies shoulde argue, and among them conclude, whether it were lawfull without breach of Iustice, to leuie warres, commonly tearmed conqueste, against the inhabitantes of those conntries, without any newe offence by them committed, their infidelitie excepted.

Doctor Sepulueda was summoned to come and say what hee coulde, and being entred the counsayle chamber, did at the first session vtter his whole minde. Then was the sayde Bishoppe likewise called, who for the space of fiue dayes, continually did reade his Apologie: but being somewhat long, the Diuines and Lawyers there assembled, besought the learned and reuerende father Dominicke Soto his Maiesties confessour, and a dominican Fryer, who was there present, to reduce it into a summarie and to make so many copies as there were Lordes, that is fourteene, to the ende they all hauing studied vpon the matter, might afterwarde in the feare of God say their mindes.

The sayde reuerend father and Master Soto, set downe in the saide summarie, the doctors reasons, with the Bishops answeres to the same. Then had the doctour at his request a copie deliuered him to answere: out of whiche Summarie

he gathered twelue against him selfe, whereto hee made twelue answeres, against which answeres the Bishoppe framed twelue replies.

Doctor Sepulueda his prologue to the Lordes of the assemblie.

MOst worthie and noble Lordes, sith your Lordshippes and graces haue as iudges for the space of fiue or sixe dayes heard the Lorde Bishop of Chiapa read that booke, whereinto he hath many yeeres laboured to gather all the reasons that either himselfe, or others could inuẽt to proue the cõquest of the Indies to be vniust, as seeking first to subdue barbarous nations before we preach the Gospell vnto them, which haue been the vsuall course correspondent to the graunt made by Pope Alexander the sixt, which all kinges and nations haue hetherto taken & obserued: it is meet, and I doe so desire you, that I who take vpon mee to defende the graunt and authoritie of the Apostolike sea, together with the equitie and honour of our kinges and nation, may haue the like graunt, (and that it may please you diligently to giue me audience, while briefly and manifestly I do answere his obiections and subtilties: so doe I hope in God, and the trueth which I take vpon me to defende, that I shall plainely set before your eyes, and shew you that ally is spoken on the contrarie part before so noble and wise iudges, who are not any way to be suspected of preferring whatsoeuer may be alleaged before truth and equitie which are of such importance, doth consist only vpon friuelous and vayne reasons. I will therefore, cutting off my speech come to the purpose. For it is small honour or curtesie to vse tediousnes among suche persons, beeing occupied in waightie affaires, namely, in the gouernement of the common wealth.

The Bishoppe of Chiapa his prologue to the Lordes of the assemblie.

Most

MOst worthie and noble Lords, right reuerend and learned fathers, hitherto in what soeuer I haue read, or in writing exhibited in this so notable and honourable assemblie, I haue generally spoken against the aduersaries of the Indian enhabitants of our Indies that lie in the Occean sea, not naming any, although I knowe some, who openly doe seeke to write Treaties thereof, and frame their grounde vppon an excuse and defence of suche warres as were, are, and yet may be prosecuted against those people, which haue beene the occasions of so muche mischiefe, so manye ouerthrowes, losses, and subuersions of suche and so great kingdomes, together with manie townes and infinite numbers of soules. Also that they subduing of those nations by warres before they haue by preaching hearde of the faith or name of Iesus Christe, is a matter conformable to our Christian lawe: also that such warres are iust and lawfull, whereof it seemeth that the reuerende and worthie Doctor Sepulueda hath nowe opened and declared him selfe the principall vpholder and defendour, in that hee answereth to those reasons, authorities, and obiections, that bee to the contrary: Which in detesting the saide warres, and to the ende to shewe that the same beeing by another name, called conqueste, are wicked and tyrannous, I haue drawen into this our Apologie whereof I haue read part vnto your excellencies and Lordeshippes,

And seeing hee hath sought to disclose him selfe, and feared not to bee taken for the authour of so execrable impietie, whiche doe redownde to the slaunder of the faith, the dishonour of the name of Christianitie, and the domage as well spirituall as temporall of the most part of mankinde: I thought it verie meete, as it is, so openly to impugne it, and for cutting off of the poysoned cancker whiche hee seeketh to disperse abroade in these countreys, to the destruction and subuersion of the same, to set my selfe as an aduersarie and partie agaynst him.

Wherefore I beseech your noble Lordeshippes graces and fatherhoodes, to way this so waightie and daungerous matter, not as any peculiar cause, for I pretende no farther, but to de-

fende it according as becommeth a Christian, but as apperteining to God his honour, the vniuersall Churche, and the estate as well temporall as spirituall of the kinges of Castile, who are to giue accoumpt of the losse of soules alreadie perished, and hereafter to perish, vnlesse the gate be shutte vp against this heauie course of warres, whiche Doctour Sepulueda endeuoureth to iustifie. Also that this honourable assemblie admitte no Sophistrie by him vsed to couer and cloake his hurtfull opinion, whereby hee sheweth a pretence to colour and defende the authoritie by him called Apostolike, and the Empire, whiche the kinges of Castile and Leon haue ouer these Iudians. For no Christian can lawefully and honestly confirme and defende the authoritie tearmed Apostolike, eyther the soueraignetie of any Christian king by vniust warres, by filling hilles and valyes with innocent blood, either with the infamie and blaspheming of Christ and his faith:

But the Apostolike sea is rather by suche meanes defamed and looseth her authoritie, the true God is dishonoured, and the true title and right of a king is loste and perisheth, as euery wise and Christian man may easily gather by that which Doctor Sepulueda him selfe hath propounded.

This title and right is not founded vpon the entrie into those countries, and against those people to robbe, slay, and tyrannosly to rule ouer them, vnder pretence of preaching the faith, as those tyrāts entred & haue done, who by an vniuersall massacre and slaughter, haue murdered such a multitude of Innocentes: But it consisteth of a peaceable, louing, and gentle preaching of the Gospell, and of an vnfaigned introduction and fonndation of faith, and of Christes principalitie. Yea who so euer goeth about to giue our Kinges and Lordes any other title, whereby to obtayne the soueraigntie and principalitie ouer those Indians, is starke blind, offendeth God, is a traitour to his king, and an enemie to the Spanish nation, whom he abuseth and most perniciously deceiueth, seeking to repleniish hell with soules.

Least therefore any of your Lordshippes graces or father-

hoods ſhould ſtay vpon theſe damnable humors, it were meete as becommeth moſt chriſtian & wiſe men; yea, and very expedient to put to ſilence ſo hurtful and abhominable an opinion. And although in our Apologie, wee may ſeeme to haue ſatisfied, and at large anſwered whatſoeuer may be brought in defence of the ſaid Apologie, yet becauſe the doctor hath once againe propounded his defences, by parting father Sotoes ſummarie into twelue obiections, reaſon willeth mee to replie and ſhew that his obiections are friuolous, and to no purpoſe.

Out of which replies, heere followeth the abſtract of two that ſtand vs in ſteede.

THereport is vntrue that the Indians did yeerely ſacrifice in newe Spaine 20000. perſons: either one 100. or 50. For had that been ſo, wee could not nowe haue found there ſo much people: and therefore the Tyrants haue inuented it, thereby to excuſe and iuſtifie their tyrannies: alſo to deteine ſo many of the Indians as eſcaped the oppreſſion and deſolation of the firſt vintage, in bondage and tyrannie. But we may more truely ſay, that the Spaniards during their aboade in the Indies, haue yeerely ſacrificed to their ſo dearely beloued and reuerende Goddeſſe *Couetouſnes* more people, then the Indians haue done in a 100. yeeres. This doe the heauens, the earth, the elements, and the ſtarres both teſtifie and bewaile: the tyrants, yea, the very miniſters of theſe miſchiefes cannot denie it. For it is euident howe greatly theſe countries at our firſt entrie ſwarmed with people, as alſo how we haue nowe laide it waſte, and diſpeopled the ſame: wee might euen bluſhe for ſhame, that hauing giuen ouer all feare of God, wee will yet neuertheleſſe ſeeke to colour and excuſe theſe our ſo execrable demeanours: conſidering that only for getting wealth and riches, wee haue in 45. or 48. yeeres, waſted and conſumed more land then all *Europe*, yea and part of *Aſia*,

doe in length and breadth conteine, robbing and vſurping vpon that with all crueltie, wrong, and tyranny, which wee haue ſeene well inhabited with humane people, among whome there haue been ſlaine and deſtroyed 20. millions of ſoules.

In the laſt and twelfth replie as followeth.

THE Spaniardes haue not entred into *India* for any deſire to exalt Gods honour, or for zeale to chriſtian religion, either to fauour, and procure the ſaluation of their neighbours, no neither for their princes ſeruice, whereof they doe ſo vainely bragge: but couetouſnes hath brought them, and ambition hath allured them to the perpetuall dominion ouer the Indies, which they as tyrants and diuels, doe couet to bee parted among them: and to ſpeake plainely and flatly, doe ſeeke no other but to expell and driue the kings of *Caſtile* out of all that worlde, and themſelues ſeazing thereupon, by tyrannie to vſurpe and take vpon them all royall ſoueraigntie.

FINIS.

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